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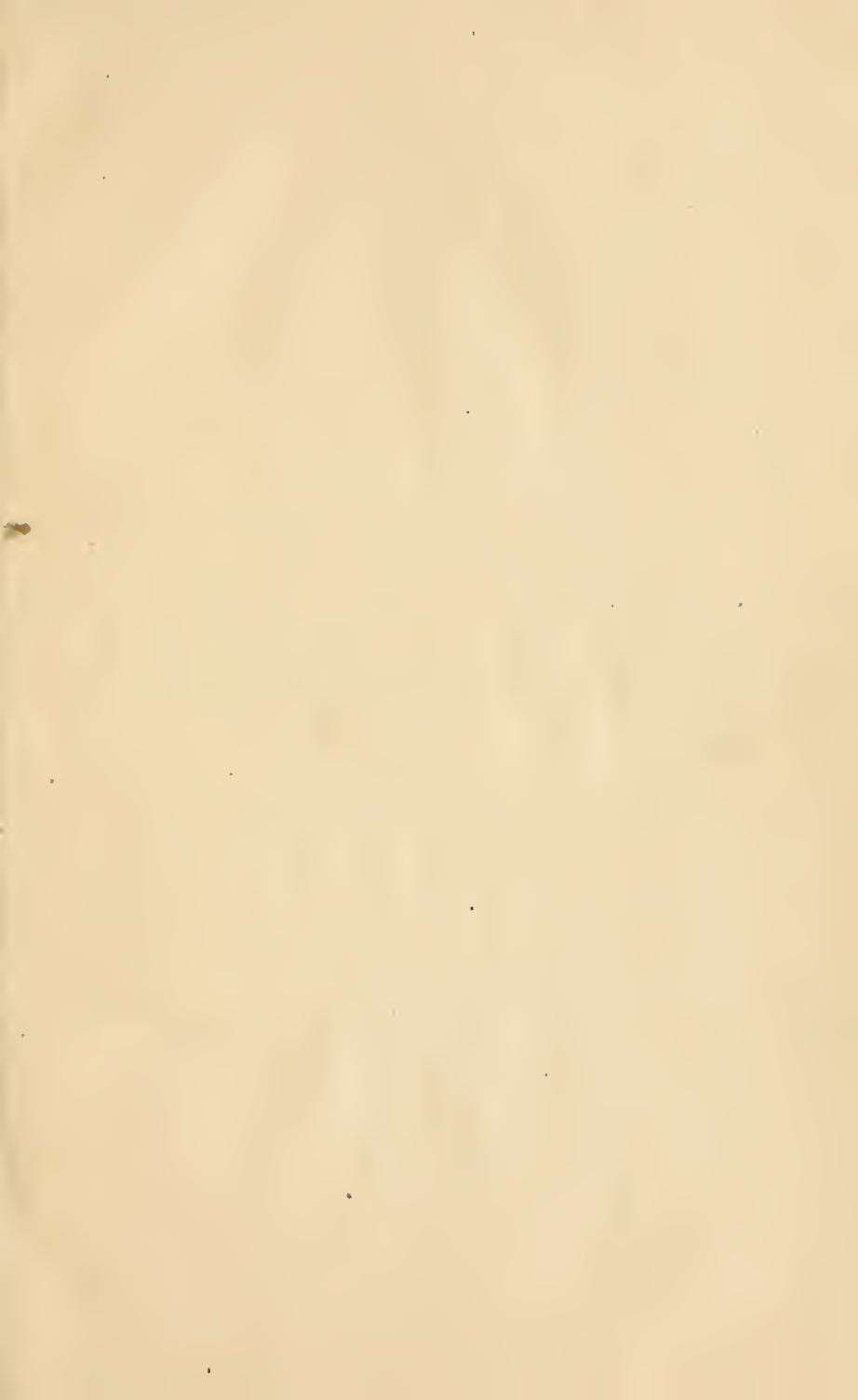
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The Boston Recorder
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ESSAYS

ON

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Slavery;

RE-PUBLISHED FROM THE

BOSTON RECORDER & TELEGRAPH,

FOR 1825.

—∞—
BY VIGORNIUS, AND OTHERS.

—∞—
AMHERST, MASS.

PUBLISHED BY MARK H. NEWMAN.

CARTER AND ADAMS, PRINTERS.

1826.

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PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.



VARIOUS suggestions have rendered it probable, that the republication of the following Essays, would benefit the cause of Africa. The publishers have thought it inexpedient to swell the size of the present pamphlet, by the insertion of all the communications on the subject of slavery, which appeared in the Recorder and Telegraph of 1825. A sufficient notice of the articles omitted, it is believed, will be found in the IXth No. of Hieronymus, and in a letter of Vigornius, which the publishers beg leave to subjoin.

———— June 6, 1826.

GENTLEMEN.

So far as I am concerned, you have my consent to the publication, which you have proposed. The subject of slavery has already assumed a most important character, and is daily awakening a new interest in the hearts of thousands, who feel for the honor and the welfare of our nation, and for the rights and claims of the oppressed and degraded. I cannot but hope, therefore, that you will find yourselves amply remunerated for your labor and expense.

When the essays of Vigornius were published, I anticipated some severe inadversions upon the sentiments. I could not expect, that many slave-holders would fairly and honorably grapple with the arguments against the *principle* of slavery. And I had reason to think, that the facts, which I adduced, stubborn as they are, would probably encounter that peremptoriness of assertion, which reveals the poverty of the writer's logic, and that clamor and fluttering of painful consciousness, which always admit of an easy interpretation. Truth operates slowly, when it opposes the wishes of personal interest. I was not at all surprised, therefore, when I read the strictures of "A Carolinian," of "Libertatis Amicus," and of "Philo" (of Louisiana).

To "Hieronymus" the cause of benevolence is under the greatest obligations. In his views of slavery and emancipation, I most cordially acquiesce. For his candid and friendly treatment of Vigornius, I would take this opportunity to express my gratitude.

It affords "the author of six numbers" no small satisfaction, to be able to appeal from the denunciations of "A Carolinian," to the following testimony of "A Slave-Holder" of N. C. published in the Recorder & Telegraph, Oct. 14, 1825. "I have shown those articles on slavery to several of my friends, who

are slave-holders; and I believe we are *unanimous* in the opinion, that their author was *personally acquainted* with slavery, as it *now exists* in the Southern States, that he did not collect his information from *books* or from *travelers*; but that he had *seen it* with the eye of a Christian and a patriot. &c." Supported by such testimony, and encouraged by the corroborations of "Hieronymus," "Libertas," and others "acquainted with slavery as it now exists" in this country, I cannot but cherish confidence in the general correctness of the *facts*, which I adduced. The *sentiments*, I have seen no reason to change.

Happy will it be for these United States, when the North and the South shall act in regard to slavery, under a full impression of the obligations of patriotism, humanity, and our holy religion. I thank God for the tokens of a nobler and purer state of feeling. The gospel is triumphing over the worldliness of man. There is indeed a cloud still hanging over the prospects of the present generation of slaves,—but "hope plays on its edges, and tinges them with gold." The day of redemption is coming:—a multitude of the oppressed are tuning their harps for the year of jubilee:—for Ethiopia is soon to stretch out her hands unto God.

You are at liberty to use this letter, as you please.

Your obedient servant,

VIGORNIUS.

SLAVERY. No. I.

IN tracing the origin and progress of slavery in primitive times, we find little upon which we can rely with implicit confidence. For authentic profane history begins just about the time the Old Testament was finished; that is to say, within four or five centuries of the Christian era; and as sacred history is almost exclusively confined, in its circumstantial details, to the remarkable dealings of Jehovah with his peculiar people, we are necessarily compelled to resort to poetical allusions and the uncertain legends of oral tradition, for nearly all our knowledge of the manners and customs of the earliest ages of heathen antiquity. It seems to be a very probable hypothesis, that captives in war were retained as slaves, very soon after the confusion of tongues. Parents, also, appear to have sold their children into servitude, at a very remote period. Some have supposed, that slavery commenced with Nimrod: and hence the lines of Pope—

Proud Nimrod first the bloody chase began,
A mighty hunter, and his prey was man.

But whether the simple language of the Bible (Gen. 10. 9.) warrants this commentary, I submit to those, who are more fond than I am, of the whimsical conceits and “airy nothings,” which have too often found a “local habitation and a name” in the chasms of sacred history. It is certain, however, from the manner in which Joseph’s brethren sold him to the Ishmaelites, that men had already become an article of traffic. Soon after, we find the Israelites a nation of slaves in Egypt: and, as is well known, they also became slave-holders, after their settlement in Palestine. Homer repeatedly alludes to the custom of *kidnapping* in small piratical expeditions, and of reducing prisoners of war to the condition of slaves. Thucydides mentions, that the ancient Greeks, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands and upon the Asiatic shore, were addicted to mutual piracies: and their predatory enterprises, like the subsequent practice of thieving in Sparta, so far from involving any idea of wrong, or of moral turpitude, appear to have been universally regarded as achievements of heroism and glory. An exchange of prisoners of war was unknown to the ancients. In Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the collar and the chain awaited the captive.

It may perhaps be a matter of question, how much the promotion of Joseph will prove for the lenity, with which the early

Egyptians may have treated their slaves. The condition of the Israelites in bondage is well known. And in later times, the bondmen of Egypt are said to have been treated with great cruelty. Nothing but the temple of Hercules could shelter them from the barbarity of their merciless tyrants.—Throughout Greece the privations and hardships of the slaves were almost beyond endurance,—notwithstanding Demosthenes once said, that “the condition of a slave at Athens was preferable to that of a free citizen in many other countries.” But the freeborn spirit would sometimes rise above its debasement, and burst the chains, which capricious fortune or the strong arm of power had imposed upon it. “Athenæus reports, that in Attica the slaves once seized upon the castle of Sunium, and committed ravages upon the country; and at the same time made their second insurrection in Sicily: for in that country they frequently rebelled, but were at last reduced with great slaughter, no less than a million of them being killed.” The Spartans often suffered severely from their oppression of the unfortunate Helotes.—In the early ages of Rome, vanquished nations were incorporated with the original inhabitants. This policy was afterwards abandoned, and prisoners of war were marched to Rome, to constitute an insulated and despised portion of the community:—until, after various changes, the slaves under the Emperors gradually acquired nearly equal privileges with Roman citizens. Comparatively speaking, the Romans in general deserve commendation for their treatment of their slaves, notwithstanding their sanguinary and barbarous laws defining the prerogative of a master or a *paterfamilias*. The hope of manumission was never denied to Roman slaves: they were frequently rewarded with promotions and enfranchisement: they were employed in trades, and educated in the liberal arts—for slaves were the instructors of the Roman youth: and such monuments as the comedies of Terence and the morals of Epicætetus, render it certain, that genius beamed forth from the degradation of physical servitude, to enlighten and adorn some of the proudest ages of classical literature.

The precise period, when European nations began to depart from the custom of enslaving their captives, cannot, I believe, be ascertained with certainty: neither are we able to develop the particular operations of the causes, which effected its ultimate abolition. All that can be said with confidence, is, that after the northern and eastern barbarians had settled down upon the ruins of the mighty fabric of the Roman empire,—when Christianity with its benevolent and humanizing principles had become the professed religion of Europe,—and when a brilliant and amiable knight-hood had laboured to redeem the character of the feudal system, or alleviate its unavoidable evils,—then the laws of war were gradually meliorated, and long before the revival of learning, the abominable practice of dooming the vanquished to ignominious slavery, was completely abolished.

The Portuguese* revived the detestable traffic in human flesh, by landing upon the coast of Africa, and stealing the innocent natives. When it became difficult to meet the demand for slaves, they were guilty of the most execrable expedients to induce the peaceful tribes to make war upon each other, and sell the captives. I believe it was not until the sixteenth century, that slaves were transported to the American continent. In 1517, Charles Vth granted permission to import 4000 Africans into America. But he afterwards repented of his conduct, and in 1542 gave orders for the manumission of all slaves in his American Islands. "The Dominicans in Spanish America, witnessing the cruel treatment, which the slaves underwent there, considered slavery as utterly repugnant to the principles of the gospel, and recommended the abolition of it." Hence a dispute between them and the Franciscans, which was settled by Pope Leo Xth,—“That not only the Christian religion, but nature herself cried out against slavery.” The English commenced the slave-trade in 1562, in the reign of Elizabeth—who from the first questioned its lawfulness, and declared, that if the Africans were carried off without their free consent, “it would be detestable and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers:”—and enjoined upon all masters of English slave vessels, not to take any against their inclination. But her injunctions were not obeyed,—as it is needless to remark. In France Louis XIIIth was about to emancipate all slaves in his dominion, when he was prevented by the humane assurance, that the introduction of slaves into his colonies was the readiest way of converting them to Christianity.

Thus it appears, that slavery, when it commenced in the West-Indies and South-America, was openly discountenanced by the sovereigns of Spain, France, and England, and in Italy by the Pope—the spiritual potentate of all Catholic countries. The slave-trade, nevertheless, was carried on, by the concealment and artifice of their avaricious and inhuman subjects.

In the year 1620—the very year in which the venerated fathers of New-England’s civil and religious freedom landed at Plymouth,—an ill-fated Dutch ship from Africa, sold twenty slaves to the colony at Jamestown, Va.; and here, if I mistake not, began the

* I do not intend to imply, that slavery was unknown in Africa, until this period. In what has thus far been said of the progress of slavery, I have chiefly confined myself to those nations, concerning whose history we have authentic documents. It may be remarked in general, however, that throughout Asia, China excepted, involuntary servitude in different degrees of severity, appears to have existed from time immemorial. So also in different parts of Africa. And this, I apprehend, is all or nearly all that can be said with unhesitating confidence. This point may again be noticed. Certainly the Portuguese were the first among the *people of Europe*, who commenced an intercourse with the natives of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining slaves,—thus laying the foundation of the whole system of that inhuman and unrighteous oppression, which so shockingly disfigures the aspect of modern Christendom.

slave-holding system among the English colonists. During this century and the first half of the eighteenth, England laboured hard to monopolize the slave trade; but the other powers of Europe were successful competitors in this odious commerce of the human species, which, originating in an insatiable thirst for gold, and prosecuted with the most hardened and unrelenting cruelty, has afflicted more than half of the globe with its crimes and calamities. Would to heaven, that the knell of slavery had been tolled, when the civilized nations of Europe, near the very midnight of the dark ages, ceased to enslave prisoners of war! I know not how many feel as I do; but for myself, "my thoughts do often lie too deep for tears," while remembering, that, when Europe had risen from the tomb—when the darkness, which so long trammelled or buried the genius of her sons, had rolled back before a bright and glorious morning of intellectual day—then, in stern defiance of every principle of nature and humanity, and every precept of that religion, which smiles upon us, with the sceptre of mercy in one hand, and the olive-branch in the other, chains and fetters were again forged, and the most diabolical passions of our fallen nature, were let loose in a remorseless warfare upon the natural and unalienable rights of brethren—created by the same benevolent God, who has made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth—bearing the same image—and born with the birth right of the same immortality. Had I the "spirit-stirring" genius of Sterne, I would never have recourse to the cold formality of argument, in a humble plea for the outraged and disconsolate African: but I would tell a tale of real sorrow, and fearlessly venture the issue upon an unvarnished panorama of cruelty and wretchedness, in comparison with which, "*poor Yorick's*" most affecting picture of misery in an aged prisoner of the Bastile, would be a delightful portraiture of Elysian happiness.

VIGORNIUS.



SLAVERY. No. II.

It is needless to observe, that no efforts have yet been able to effect a suppression of the African slave-trade. So long as a demand for slaves exists, this odious commerce in human flesh will continue, in defiance of law, danger, and death. After all that has been done, the root of the evil has hardly been touched.—America has a most important work to do, and it is high time it was begun. In this boasted land of liberty and equal rights, there is a nation of slaves. And I now say, we have no right to hold them in bondage.

I would premise, that when I speak of right, I mean *absolute right*, and I understand those "actions to be absolutely right,

which, under all the circumstances of the case, a perfectly well informed moral agent is morally obliged to perform." And further,—I make no distinction, in point of absolute right, between the holding of slaves (whether bought or inherited,) the purchase of slaves, selling of slaves, and the stealing of slaves, or in a word, downright kidnapping: for the very simple reason, that no man has a right to retain what he himself or another had no right to purchase,—and no man has a right to purchase what another had no right to sell—and no man has a right to sell what he had no right to procure by his own or another's agency. Hence, all the arguments ever urged in favor of the extermination of the slave trade, apply with equal force, to say the least, to the *manumission* of slaves. These arguments, as is well known, are mainly built upon the great law of Christian benevolence "do to others as you would be done by," and as a philosophical structure, upon the first law of our nature, "that no just man shall be given into slavery, against his own consent," and upon the first law of justice, "that no person shall do harm to another without a previous provocation." These are self-evident principles, and all slavery in the common signification of the term, is in open violation of them.

In vindication of slavery, it may be argued, that the practice has existed from the earliest ages, and among almost all nations. On the same ground you may defend every species of crime in the catalogue of human wickedness.

The Scriptures are alleged to sanction slavery. If it was right for the Jews to hold slaves, it is right for all. Let us examine the force of this argument.

As to slaves of Hebrew origin, we have the following statute in Deut. 24.7.—"If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then that thief shall die; and thou shalt put away evil from amongst you." The Jews were required to treat bondmen of their own nation as hired servants. At the return of the Sabbatical year, all Hebrew slaves were entitled to their freedom, and were at liberty to go out from their master, with their wives and children. Six years, therefore, was the longest period of slavery, which could be exacted of a Hebrew. The Jews became slaves of their brethren, in consequence of being sold by poor parents—of a voluntary sale of themselves—of an inability to pay their debts—or to restore property, which they might have stolen. When their term of service had expired, their masters were required to make a liberal provision for their wants. A Hebrew could not be sold to the heathen; and his condition as a bondman was similar to that of a modern apprentice, who is bound for a term of years, or that of German and Irish Redemptioners—poor emigrants, who are sold to labour, in order to defray the expenses of transportation to this country.—Is there any thing here to warrant *modern slavery*?

The Jews, however, had some *heathen* slaves. I cannot find,

that they had any permission to steal slaves among the neighbouring nations. "He that stealeth a man (that is, as some interpret, a Hebrew or a Gentile) and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Ex. 21. 16. If there is any doubt of our correctness of the extensive application of this article of the law, there certainly can be none in regard to the meaning of *this* most important injunction,—“Both thy bondmen and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye *buy* bondmen and bond-maids.” Lev. 25. 44. The context will shew, that the terms “bond-men” and “bond-maids,” are used with a peculiar force, denoting the difference between Hebrew and heathen slaves. These last were to be instructed in the Jewish religion; and as soon as they renounced idolatry, and embraced Judaism, they were entitled to all the privileges of Hebrew citizens.

The Israelites seem never to have availed themselves, to any great extent, of the privilege of purchasing servants, or slaves, of the Gentile nations. And it may be inferred from the comparatively few notices concerning the treatment of heathen slaves, and from the steadfast purpose of the sacred lawgiver to prevent the introduction of idolatry, that a large number was never anticipated; and, if it had been otherwise, that this species of servitude would not have been allowed. When Joshua went into the land of Canaan, he was required to put to death all the inhabitants: but the Gibeonites, &c. having surreptitiously obtained a treaty with him, were condemned to act as servants about the tabernacle. But it will be urged, the Jews actually *had* heathen slaves—why have we not the same right?

Does it follow, as a matter of course, that we have a right to slaves, because the Jews possessed them? Moses allowed certain domestic customs, which the gospel has abolished. Said our Saviour, “Moses from the *hardness* of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not *so*.” Is it so under the gospel? Would ancient Jewish example sanction modern polygamy?

The Jews were a privileged people: and the same God, who in his holy providence directed them to exterminate the heathen from the land of promise, also expressly gave them *permission* to *buy* slaves of the nations around them and in their midst. They would have had no right to drive out the Canaanites and massacre immense multitudes, had not God commanded them to do it; and they would have had no right to hold a foreigner in bondage, had not God permitted them. Now when a people can prove, that God has *permitted* them to enslave their fellows beings,—then, and not till then, can they be authorized to follow Jewish precedent in regard to slavery. When the Israelites departed from Egypt, they borrowed, by divine direction, jewels of silver and gold, and raiment,—which the Egyptians expected to receive again, but which

the borrowers never did, and never intended to return. Why not appeal to this fact, in support of fraud and thieving? And why not, on the authority of Jewish example, invade the territories of nations, who never injured us, and spare neither man, woman, nor child?

That the Jews had a right to buy slaves of the heathen, I admit, as readily as I admit their right to the promised land. But the heathen had no more right to sell their children or one another to the Jews, than a Jew had to sell his children or fellow citizens to them—which he was most solemnly forbidden to do. I believe no one would maintain, that, in a state of nature, a man has a right to enslave his fellows. Why do not organized communities, in relation to themselves and one another, stand upon the same ground in respect to slavery, as individuals in a state of natural liberty? If the Gentile nations contemporary with the Jews, had a right to steal and sell one another to a foreign people, then the Savage, the Algerine, the Hottentot, the European, and the Asiatic, have now the same right to enslave us, and we to enslave them. Whose creed contains an article like this?—Am I asked, why, if the heathen had no right to sell slaves to the Hebrews, did not God forbid them?—I answer, why did not God give them a revelation? Why did he leave Pharaoh and his people to the desolations of the ten plagues? Why did he dispose the Egyptians to lend the Israelites their most precious articles of apparel and ornament? Or why commission Joshua to destroy the Canaanites, without giving them warning?—But will any man of common sense pretend, that all, which the heathen do, is right, because God has not sent them a prohibition? Or will any man pretend, that the conduct of the Jews, in several specified particulars, would have been right, unless God had given them his permission or commandment?

But, says the slave-stealer or slave holder, to say the least, we have a virtual permission to enslave the Africans,—because as descendants of Ham they are doomed to servitude by the curse of Noah. On this point there have been sad mistakes. I will not stop to question the prophetic character of this curse, which was uttered under circumstances familiar to every reader of the Bible; but, so far as this is concerned, I concede all that the objector demands. This curse was denounced against Ham through the line of Canaan: we have no knowledge of the particular mode or extent of its operation: there is not a tittle of evidence, that any of the posterity of Canaan lived in Africa;—on the contrary, we have the declaration of the Scriptures, corroborated by the testimony of profane writers, that Africa was peopled by the other sons of Ham; and that the descendants of Canaan inhabited western Asia, and were chiefly destroyed, or expelled from the land, which God gave to his chosen people. The argument of the objector, then, without any further analysis, must seem to any man of tolerable sense to be about as destitute of solidity, as the vision of a dream.

I go farther. Admitting the curse of Noah to be unquestionably prophetic—admitting that the Africans were the undoubted descendants of Ham through the line of Canaan—admitting that it was the unerring declaration of God, that we were the people whom they would serve—I deny the right to enslave them. And I put it to the conscience of every man of reason, whether it would furnish the least justification of slavery? Can the traitor Judas—can the infuriated populace of Jerusalem, who crucified their Lord and Redeemer,—plead at the bar of eternal justice, that their deeds of diabolical wickedness were foretold in the language of prophecy?

Before we can defend slavery, from any facts in the economy of the Hebrew commonwealth, we must prove, that God has specifically given us the same unequivocal privileges; and as this cannot be done, it is a shocking libel on the Scriptures, to claim them as a vindication of debased and miserable servitude. *Is not the pure spirit of the Mosaic institutions repugnant to slavery?* All the statutes, regulating the treatment of slaves, plainly intimate that slavery is an evil and bitter thing. Had the Jewish religion, instead of being exclusive in its character, been universal in its application, or had all nations embraced it, there would have been *no Gentiles to steal and sell slaves*. It is the spirit, not the letter merely, which demands attention. Too often the letter has “killed.” But the Jewish economy has no longer the divine sanction. Its exclusiveness exists only in the unprecedented obstinacy of the poor wanderers of Israel. Jew and Gentile, bond and free, are all one in Christ. The gospel encircles the whole human family, and to deprive a fellow immortal of his liberty, and to detain him in involuntary servitude, no matter what his color or his clime,—is neither loving our neighbor as ourselves, nor doing as we would be done by. And is it possible, that, in this enlightened age, there are those professing to be disciples of Jesus, who are ready to vindicate the right of slavery, even upon the principles of that heavenly system, which originated in *love* as pure and infinite as the *holiness* of God!

VIGORNIUS.

SLAVERY. No. III.

THOUGH God has made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, the color of the Africans has been interpreted to denote intended subjection. I do not think it worth while to engage in a philosophical speculation respecting the origin of those different complexions, which now characterize our race, though all descended from the same parents, and parents too whose color, we have some good reason to believe, was neither white nor black, but a medium between both. As a striking confirmation of the hypothesis, that climate and mode of life have produced the varieties of color in the human species, we have a living argument in the case of the modern Jews. While it is an indisputable fact, that the Jews have remained a distinct people, at the present day, the English Jew is white, the Armenian olive, the Arabian copper, the Portuguese swarthy.—But let color be as it may, I would gladly learn where it is to be ascertained in the book of nature or of God, that color is the standard of relative rank in the scale of humanity,—and how this scale is graduated. I know not that the great Author of nature has any where informed us, that the whites, *ex colore*, have a right to tyrannize over any of the human race—to make the Africans their hewers of wood, and drawers of water, and beasts of burden. Why have we any more claim upon the African, than we have upon the Indian, because he is red, or upon the Asiatic, because he has a light or a dark olive complexion? Why is color in one a charter of superiority, and in another an indenture of servitude? Why has the American a better title to a slave from Africa, than the African to a slave from Circassia, or any of what *we* call the *fair* regions of the earth? When the English Jew has a right on the ground of complexion to enslave his darker brethren, then, and not till then, will a citizen of these United States have a right on the same ground to enslave his brethren of Africa.

But it has been said, the Africans are inferior in their nature, and therefore we are authorized to hold them as property. In this argument, as in that just examined, there is an assumption, both in the premises and conclusion. I care not what Buffon and the naturalists say about the physical organization of the negroes; I care not if they are descended from the ouran-outang, as the learned Monboddo says we all did; I contend that a fair experiment has never been made. Place a European or any other man in like circumstances, and we have no very strong reason to believe, that his intellect would flash any more light upon the world, than that of the enslaved African. Though it is true, as the amiable Cowper says, “minds are never to be sold,” yet the deteriorating, debasing influence of physical oppression is so palpably obvious,

that old Homer, that nice observer of men and things, had good reason for the idea, "that Jove took away half the senses of the man, whom he doomed to be a slave." I have no expectation that wondrous miracles are ever to be wrought in science and literature, by African genius. I shall not stop to examine the authority of the "legends, that the ancient bards of Dahomy rehearsed poems," which, like the mysteries and moralities of the early French drama, "took up whole days in the recital," or that "when Orpheus was charming the forests into life, and Hesiod was tracing the genealogies of the gods, and weaving time and nature into song, and Homer was singing the wars of the Greeks and the wanderings of Ulysses, then the bards of Nigritia were celebrating the exploits of their heroes, and publishing the records of their renown in the ears of listening kings and admiring nations;"—but I am confident, that every thing attempted for the intellectual improvement of people of color, has been attended with great success: and whoever has read such narratives as those of the unfortunate Park, or of the missionary Campbell in South Africa—whoever has become acquainted with the true native character of the African, cannot have a reasonable doubt, that he is not very far, certainly not at a returnless distance, from the European or the American, in what Shakspeare calls the "milk of human kindness;" and though he has never enjoyed the golden opportunity of exhibiting the pompous affectation of refinement, and the hollow-hearted urbanity of the more elegant white man, that he nevertheless possesses some share of those affectionate sympathies and those kindlier feelings of the heart, which are the life-blood of domestic endearment, and the foundation of all that is happy in social intercourse.

But suppose the African inferior to the white man,—what then? Are we warranted to enslave a man, on the ground of his intellectual inferiority? To say nothing of the impropriety of the inference, it would establish a principle, which, as a practical one, would not be altogether congenial to beings such as we are, who bow so reverently at the shrine of self, and display so much of the Ishmaelite, on the subject of intellectual character. For I see no reason, why the man of genius could not enslave thousands, whom nature and the circumstances of external condition have placed below him in mental ability; in other words, why the man of talents, and perchance your mere fopling of science and literature, would not have a right to go about the community with his branding iron, and put his stamp of ownership upon all his real or supposed inferiors. It would be a little better for the argument, if it did not prove quite so much.

At a remote period of Grecian antiquity, the prowling pirate would often seize the harmless shepherd while tending his flocks and listening to the melody of his lyre, or the laborious husbandman at work in his field, and drag him into slavery. And often

in the early times of New England's history, the yell of the infuriated savage wantonly broke the silence of midnight, and death or a dreadful captivity was the lot of the miserable victims. Was this right?—Again, the corsair of Barbary has frequently captured the Christian mariner on the high road of nations, and sent him to a dungeon of chains, famine, and death. And now for nearly three centuries, the slave-stealer with the passions of a fiend has been pursuing his infernal schemes, and the poor natives of Africa have been instigated to a most barbarous warfare upon each other—and for what? To furnish cargoes of human beings—of immortal souls—for the slave ship—that “den of abominations”—that charnel-house—that ghastly sepulchre, where ten thousand times life and death have been literally chained together, exhibiting the horrid spectacle of mortality in dissolving ruins, and a living spirit entombed in a loathsome, soul-sickenning mass of human putrefaction.—Again I ask, Where is the right? I call upon the advocates of slavery to adduce a solitary argument connected with natural right and equity, to justify an American slave-stealer, and shall I say it, an American slave-holder, that will not equally justify the conduct of the ancient pirate, the modern corsair, or the savages of our forests—more especially the latter, cheated, robbed of their lands, and hunted down, as they often have been, by the humane citizens of these United States. I appeal to the good sense, the understanding, and the conscience of every reader.—Is there a man or a power on earth, that has a right to enslave *you*? And if there is not, where in the light of heaven or of nature, can you read the title to traffic in human bones and sinews, to hold a nation of slaves—to

“Chain them and task them, and exact their sweat

“With stripes, that mercy with a bleeding heart

“Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast?

And what man seeing this,

“And having human feelings, does not blush,

“And hang his head, to think himself a man?”

Tell me not, that whatever may be the guilt of stealing a man, the son has a right to retain an inheritance of slaves. To the shame of our country, he has a legal right, I know; but in the sight of that God, who seeth not as man seeth, he has no right to retain what his father or relative had no right to buy, and what the seller had no right to obtain by his own or another's *unrighteous* instrumentality. What is the right that can guaranty the possession or inheritance of stolen property? Or condemn a man to imprisonment for life—afterwards establish his innocence most conclusively—would you still continue him in his chains? Could a sovereign *justly* detain those in prison, who had been *unjustly* confined by his predecessor?—But I am ready to say, that the slave holder, bating particular aggravations of cruelty, is to all intents and purposes, a man stealer. *Every descendant of Adam,*

no matter whether his parents are in servitude or not, is born free and independent. Nature never forged a collar or a chain. In Africa, the slave is stolen from his home, from liberties actually enjoyed ; in America, the infant of the slave, and often of the master, the moment it opens its eyes, beholds the insignia of a bondage to last till the vital spark brightens in the regions of immortality. I repeat it, every child, born of a slave and retained in servitude, is stolen from his freedom, is denied the birth-right which God and nature gave him.

VIGORNIUS.



SLAVERY. No. IV.

SLAVERY is not only indefensible upon the general principles of right, but it is in flagrant opposition to the genius of our government. A legitimate application of the letter and spirit of our free institutions would emancipate every slave within our territories : and the young republic of Columbia, with a constitution similar to our own, has acted consistently in declaring every inhabitant to be entitled to the same rights and privileges. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," says our boasted Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal ; that their Creator has endowed them with certain unalienable rights ; that among these rights, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ;"—(what further ?) "and in support of these principles, we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." So then *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are the unalienable rights of all mankind !* And either the slave was forgotten—or he was not recognised as a human being—or he is an exception to the universal rule—or lastly, his right to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is abrogated, or superceded by the paramount right of his master to hold him in servitude, and to work, scourge, or sell him, like a brute. But perhaps the document under remark, was only intended to apply to mankind in general, and to white people, or emphatically the citizens of the New World, in particular. "Wisdom for parts," in the view of the slave-holder who composed it, would have been what Young said it was in another case :—

"Wisdom for parts is madness for the whole."

"This stamps the paradox."

Americans signing a Declaration of Independence one day, and brandishing a Slave-Whip the next ! Indeed, "Our glory covers us with noble shame."

Ever since Congress prohibited the slave-trade, slaves have annually been smuggled into the Southern States, and in some instances by the connivance of United States Officers. Within a few years, also, it was voted in general Congress assembled, that Mis-

souri be a slave holding state: "and thus," said a writer, who seems to have felt for the disgrace of his country, "by the blessing of God, slave-holding is established there by statute,—by the laws of our free and independent legislature." And what is the general sentiment of the nation, on the great question of slavery?—While our citizens from Maine to the Floridas thrill at the sound of Grecian emancipation, and while thousands would follow the star-spangled banner in a crusade against the Ottoman crescent; while our newspapers, for nearly a year, have been ringing with "Lafayette" and his exhibitions; and while the patriotic enthusiasm of multitudes, rejoices in contributing for the establishment of triumphal monuments in commemoration of the events and heroes of our revolutionary struggle;—the clanking of chains and the groans of oppression rise up in our condemnation from nearly two thirds of our inhabited territories. And though we could plunge ourselves into war with Great Britain for the "Impressment" of a few seamen, though the very current of life recoils to its fountain, whenever we contemplate the sufferings, which were experienced by some of our citizens at Tripoli and Algiers, or among the Indians,—yet as a people, after all that has been done to arouse the Christian, the patriot, and the man, we can hear or see all the immense aggregation of wretchedness endured by nearly two millions of slaves, without a sigh of sympathy or a tear of commiseration. Admirable commentary on the text-book of American Liberty! Happy America!—land of freedom and equal rights!

"Land of every land the pride,
"Beloved by heaven o'er all the world beside!"

Again: slavery is a great political evil—and as true patriots, we are bound to exterminate it.

A republican government cannot rest securely upon the basis of mere physical strength. Intelligence and virtue are its true palladium. Let our citizens become generally ignorant and immoral, and the death-warrant of our inestimable privileges is signed. Besides, there is at the present day an unparalleled spirit of revolution abroad in the earth. The lethargy of ages is broken. Knowledge is running to and fro, scattering light where the "darkness" has been *too dark* to be "visible." At the South a splendid constellation has appeared in the political firmament. The thrones of continental Europe are tottering and crumbling. The inspiration of freedom is circulating wide and deep—and as well might you strive to stop the Missouri or the Amazon, as to prevent its triumphant progress. Why is it that we do not apply these principles and facts to the condition of our own land?—Nearly one fifth part of our whole population consists of a people, insulated, denied the natural rights of men, ignorant, degraded, destitute for the most part of moral principle, cast out and trodden under foot.

—Still they are *men*, and can feel and act like men. Oppression and the debasing influence of servitude have kept them down, but there are spirits among them impatient “to break and revenge their fetters,”—ready to kindle the flames of insurrection, and imbrue their swords in the blood of their oppressors. I am aware, that a general rising of the slaves would probably, but not certainly, lead to their hopeless extermination, or expose the survivors to a deadlier weight of bondage. But where is the man, who can coolly contemplate the possible massacre of a part of his fellow-citizens, because he has no apprehensions for the safety of the rest? Conscious that your home or that of your friend was threatened by a desperate incendiary, could you sleep quietly, because the alarm-bell would bring a multitude to extinguish the flames? Though armed with the instruments of death, would you pillow your head upon a sleeping lion? Almost every year, and in spite of the most sanguinary laws and eagle-eyed vigilance, plots have been detected, which, had they ripened into execution, would have carried the exasperated vindicators of the rights, which God and nature gave, and slave-holders denied, through the first act, at least, of the bloody tragedy of St. Domingo.

In time of war, a large part of the effective force at the South, must be in requisition to keep the slaves in awe; and thus slavery weakens the national strength. An enemy without is the veriest friend, compared to an enemy within. In the event of of an invasion, arm the slaves,—the cause is ruined.

But whatever we may now do in suppressing the insurrections of slaves, the prospect, if the present system continues, is full of horror. Fifty years more, and their number will be not far from 10,000,000. How can we then as patriots, as philanthropists, discharge our duty to our country, to generations unborn, without a vigorous and determined effort to stop the career of this threatening curse of slavery? What would have been the fate of Egypt, had embodied Israel remained in bondage? How much of Spartan blood was shed by her slaves? And Rome too—was not Rome brought to the very verge of ruin, when Herdonius, with his band of outlaws and insurgent slaves, seized the capitol, and issued his proclamation to the inhabitants below, warning them, that he had resolved to remove the fetters of the slave, and restore the injured exile to his country,—that he preferred to have the Romans themselves voluntarily secure this object, but if they would not, he would appeal to the *Æqui et Volsci*, “*et omnia extrema tentaturum ac concitaturum.*” In later times, what but a constant augmentation of privilege saved the Empire from destruction at the hands of its slaves?—Where originated the Turks, the formidable power to which the Greeks have been so long in subjection? In the mountains of Imaus, from the meanest of the slaves of the Great Khan of Geougen. “But,” says the elegant historian of Rome’s Decline and Fall, “their servitude could only last, till a

leader bold and eloquent, should arise to persuade his countrymen, that the same arms, which they forged for their masters, might become in their own hands the instruments of freedom and victory. They sallied from the mountain—a sceptre was the reward of his advice.” In our own age, an Island already alluded to, stands as a beacon to the slave holding nations of the danger of trampling too long upon the rights of humanity. Call to mind, then, the history of the past, think of the present, ascend the hill of contemplation, and thence look around upon the fortunes of our beloved country—and see if there is not a cloud of most alarming aspect, already above our political horizon. That cloud may now seem no bigger than a man’s hand ; but in an hour that we think not, that little cloud may be an overwhelming blackness ; and the destroying angel may come forth on the whirlwind’s wing, to pour out the replenished vials of the wrath of Him, who “ stills the raven’s clamorous nest,” and whose retributive vengeance will not always sleep. Reader, what can *you* do to avert this awful catastrophe ? Are you a man ? Feel and act for humanity. Are you a patriot ? Feel and act for your country. Are you a Christian ? Feel and act for the honour of your religion, and the eternal welfare of fellow immortals.

VIGORNIUS.



SLAVERY. No. V.

THERE are moral evils incorporated with the slave-holding system, which are so flagrant and deplorable, that any amount of plainness and severity in a representation of them, can be entirely vindicated, so long as the statements are clothed in the honest language of truth. Some of these evils have neither been fully understood, nor properly contemplated. For had it been otherwise, it seems impossible, that the Christianity of the nation should have been so indifferent to the moral pollutions of slavery. It is no charity to cover them with the mantle of silence. They are not concealed from the eye of Infinite Purity : they ought to be known to the virtuous and benevolent on earth, that, if possible, a thorough lustration may be immediately commenced.

In regard to the effects of slavery on the white population, I would first merely advert to the legitimate tendency of slave-labor to strike at the root of those regular and near gradations of society, which in New-England are so invaluable, as incentives to the industrious and enterprising. It distributes the white community into two great classes—widely separated from each other—the variously rich and the degraded poor. And excepting the mixed and fluctuating population of large towns and cities, the actual condition of the inhabitants of the slave-holding states, is a perfect demonstration of the tendency above mentioned. The

pernicious consequences of such an inequality of rank and circumstance, in a moral point of view, are too obvious to require particular illustration.

Arrogance, superciliousness, and various kinds of dissipation, are almost inseparably associated with the slave holding system. Where the strength of pure moral principle is not felt, there seems to be, I had almost said, an insurmountable temptation, in the common circumstances of affluent planters, to have recourse to criminal indulgencies of appetite and passion, to fill up the vacuities, and relieve the impatience of their indolent lives. Their ease must be luxurious, to alleviate the wretchedness of inanity. But, omitting some particular vices of inferior blackness, I must be allowed to animadvert, without any cautious concealment, upon one abomination, which is too *abominable* for earth. I allude to that monstrous system of concubinage—that more than brutal intercourse, which is undeniably tolerated in numerous families of slave-holders. I am fully aware of the extreme delicacy, which an allusion to this fact imperiously demands of the writer, who ventures to stigmatize such a consummation of shamelessness. But to be remedied, a disease must be known. And while it is an unquestionable truth, that the virtue of female slaves is at the mercy of merciless concupiscence,—and while it is equally unquestionable, that the lust of masters and masters' sons, is gratified to a most shocking enormity;—it is high time, that the moral sense of the nation should cease to be wantonly profaned, and the moral character of the nation to be unpardonably outraged, by the existence and toleration of ungodliness so *intolerable*—so execrable. Such a practice, such a crime, is death to the pureness of moral sensibility, and the delicacy of moral discrimination. But it is idle to go into detail. Our language would be reduced to beggary, before we should have presented an adequate picture of this pestilence, that walketh in darkness—this destruction, that wasteth at noon-day.

In reference to the moral condition of the *slaves*, it is obvious, that the flagitious vice noticed in the preceding paragraph, must have a ruinous influence upon those, who are the instruments of such gratifications. There can be no doubt, that even the profession of piety, on the part of female slaves, throws no obstacle in the way of the libidinous propensities of ungodly slave holders. If these things are so—most assuredly the Christians of New England and the South, could never answer at the bar of Holiness, for an indifference to this curse of slavery, even if there was not another argument against it, within the boundaries of right, reason, or revelation.

But what are the direct advantages, which the slaves enjoy, in respect to intellectual or moral improvement? Here again it is obvious, that whatever religious instruction may be communicated to them, the healthfulness of moral virtue and sensibility, and if

I may be allowed the expression, the vitality of conscience, must be awfully impaired or ruined, by that polluted and polluting practice, which will be execrated by every virtuous mind. But if the master is insensible to the motives of moral obligation,—if he views the slave as a mere creature of time, with no claim upon immortality,—or if he fears that the possession of knowledge will rouse the oppressed to an effort of physical melioration,—we should not be authorized to expect, that he would labor to elevate the moral or intellectual character of the slaves under his authority. Most of the slaveholding states have prohibitory laws on this subject. I am happy to say, however, that those laws have not been rigorously enforced,—and many planters are said to be willing to have transient ministers, of particular character, preach to their slaves. But whatever may be the number of church members in populous places, or elsewhere, it is indubitable, that immense numbers of slaves on the plantations are left as ignorant of God and the gospel, as the heathen. As to intellectual illumination, the mind is without form and void,—desolation and emptiness. It is like a cheerless desert, where scarcely a single flower of beauty or genial plant can thrive,—where the eye can linger upon nothing but thorns, and briars, and noxious weeds; or it is one unbroken scene of barrenness. This surely is not the best ground for the seed of piety, if a spiritual laborer should occasionally enter this vineyard. Think, then, of thousands and tens of thousands of immortal beings, condemned, in this land of light, to live without hope and without God, and, in this deplorable ignorance and moral debasement, approaching that eternity, where without holiness no man shall see the Lord,—and tell me if there is not a tremendous accumulation of guilt resting *somewhere*? And, without prosecuting these statements, are there not in slavery—in slavery as it exists in our own country—moral evils, which ruined eternities alone can estimate.

But there is an obstacle to a general and vigorous system of instruction among the slaves, which, contemplated in all its relations to the present and the future, should press with a mountain's weight upon the heart of the Christian, and philanthropist, and patriot, and rouse the whole nation from its death-like lethargy.—Pious slave-holders have done much for the religion of their households. Still there is a popular sentiment, which is perfectly natural, that enlightened slaves are dangerous to the peace of the community,—that knowledge in the slave is power, and power with a vengeance. The doctrine, which we so fondly and frequently advocate, in regard to the influence of light upon the future fortunes of Europe, Asia, and Africa, certainly admits of an application nearer home.—Slaves of the most intelligence, and slaves of the best previous reputation for piety, have sometimes been numbered among insurgents; while others, of

similar character, have been induced to reveal the plot of their comrades.

And here I would ask the liberty to suggest a few inquiries, which, I expect, will meet with a very problematical reception. I would inquire, whether the slave has not a right to resort to the most violent measures, if necessary, in order to obtain his liberty? And if he has the least chance of success, are we not, as rational and consistent men, bound to justify him? The anticipation or the thought of massacres and conflagrations, is indeed beyond endurance. But is there no right on the part of the slave? Who has not rejoiced in the liberation of St. Domingo? Or rather, who would be willing to have the Bourbon flag again wave upon that emancipated island? Why have we felt so deeply interested in the splendid march of liberty in the southern hemisphere? What right had our fathers to shake off the comparatively easy yoke of Great Britain? And had they failed in the war of the revolution, and had the most distinguished of the *rebels* paid the forfeit with their lives in the Tower of London, would they have merited execration? What right have the Greeks to resist the tyranny of the Porte? And should *they fail in their glorious struggle*, should such gallant spirits as the lamented Bozzaris fall a sacrifice to the bow-string of the Grand Seignior, would you dress your countenance with smiles of joy? No—your hearts would wring with agonized emotion for the martyrs of liberty; your blood would foam with a phrenzy of indignation. And now have you *no* tear for the poor slave? Though he has endured worse than Turkish oppression, and ten thousand times ten thousand more than ever our fathers suffered,—yet, because he is “guilty of a skin not coloured like our own,” and because he is advertised, and sold, and used as a sort of useful domestic animal, must he, when he dares to assume the prerogative of every human being, and asserts his rights, be gibbeted and burnt? How strange are the inconsistencies of man! Washington we almost worship—Lafayette we have almost deified—and the name of Bolivar we pronounce with sincere veneration. But an African slave, and a hero of freedom? *Impossible*. God grant that the possibility may never be written with the blood of our southern brethren. I do not deny the right, on the ground of political expediency, to put insurgent slaves to death. But while I admit, that the people of the south are authorized to adopt every reasonable measure to prevent the horrors of insurrection, I firmly believe the slave has a right to immediate liberty, paramount to every claim of his master. This conflict of rights and interests, presents itself to my mind, as one of the most painful and distressing circumstances in the slaveholding system. How can a God of impartial justice sanction an adventitious necessity, which exposes a man to death, for the assertion of natural and unalienable rights?

In making these strictures, I am conscious of none other than

the purest motives. I have written with plainness to be intelligible—with severity because truth and duty demand it. Let no one accuse me of dipping my pen in gall, or of giving expression to the ravings of an infuriated imagination. I have been conversant with sober realities. If I have made a single incorrect statement, or unwarrantable insinuation, no one would more regret it than myself. The evils and crimes of slavery are no trivial or venial matters: and the dangers of slavery are something more substantial and alarming, than the airy phantoms of brain-sick visionaries. But far be it from me “to deal damnation round the land.” Far be it from me to intimate, that all slave holders are immoral or cruel. I doubt not, I know, that many of them are men of piety, men of benevolence, men of noble, generous feelings, and men who sincerely deprecate the horrors of the system, upon which I have so freely animadverted. Far be it from me to wound the feelings of such men. They feel that the present condition of slavery is chiefly *entailed* upon them, and that it is almost impossible to extricate themselves from all its evils. But they have an immense work to do, and it is high time they were more in earnest about it. There are, however, at the south, men who are professedly pious and benevolent, while at the same time, they can publish vindications of the right of slavery; and the people, in general, heartily acquiesce. The indolence of slaves, and the danger of the whites, are the greatest evils of the slave-holding system, according to popular estimation. The people of the North, in similar circumstances, would doubtless do and feel as the people of the South continue to do and feel. There is a sort of infatuation. Even the pious Newton remained in the business of the slave-trade, many years after his conversion, without suspecting or dreaming of wrong. But, blessed be God, slavery, with all its crimes, and cruelties, and nameless abominations, is rapidly hastening to an end; and it is a solemn duty, which every man owes to himself, his country, and his God, to accelerate this glorious consummation.

VICORNIUS.



SLAVERY. No. VI.

IF I have been successful in illustrating, that slavery is a violation of every principle of right, humanity, and religion,—that the legalized allowance of it is a flagrant anomalism in the theory of our free institutions,—that it is an alarming political evil, which threatens the peace and prosperity of our republic with ruin or incalculable embarrassment,—and that it is an immense moral evil, withering or destroying the energies of moral principle, polluting the home of moral virtue, and thus putting in jeopardy the present happiness, and the future salvation of hundreds of thou-

sands,—a most interesting question seems to arise, What then is to be done?

I answer, *the slave-holding system must be abolished*; and in order to the accomplishment of this end, immediate, determined measures must be adopted for the ultimate emancipation of every slave within our territories. But, to emancipate the slaves as they now are, taken collectively, and to leave them to provide for themselves, though they are at this moment entitled to there freedom, would not promise very large accessions to their happiness. Many of them would become miserable vagrants. Poverty and degradation would cling to them, till the last moment of life. Certainly we could not expect their condition would be superior to that of the Africans among us. And as to these last, we are all sensible, that, unless some marvellous revolution shall happen to popular feeling and sentiment, they must forever be excluded from a free and indiscriminate participation in the rank and privileges of the white inhabitants. The slaves, then, must be educated for the enjoyment of freedom, and must be furnished with a residence, where their color shall subject them to no disqualification,—where they can live and act, with all the resources, and in all the dignity of independent citizens of free communities. Not only must we, in imitation of the magnanimous philanthropists of the British Parliament, labor steadily, earnestly, and progressively, to meliorate their present physical and moral condition, but some plan of removal or colonization seems to be indispensable to the promotion of the best interests of master and slave. A vast work is to be done, and every hour of procrastination enhances its formidable difficulties. Perhaps no single remedy will be sufficient. Let the slaves throughout the country be liberated as fast as possible. Let them have an opportunity to obtain a competent subsistence, and more, by the employments of freemen. If Congress shall make an appropriation of land, let it not be neglected. If Hayti throws open her doors, let them be entered. In a word, if any project be devised, which promises to hasten the extermination of slavery, and improve the condition of the slave, let it be encouraged, and urged onward. Every citizen in the country is bound to do something, and let every one do it in the way, which his wisdom or inclination approves. But I may be allowed to suggest to the reader of these articles, whether the plan of the American Colonization Society is not the most flattering and magnificent, which has ever been proposed to our benevolence, patriotism, and piety. Is it not a bow of promise upon the portentous cloud, that overhangs the destinies of America? Why cannot the whole nation patronize the object, as a common interest? Let all sectional jealousies be buried, and with more sincerity and permanency, than Themistocles and Aristides buried their animosities, when the interests of their common country were endangered.—Let us unite in this cause of nature, and man, and God, like a sympathising

community of brethren. Let the liberal devise liberal things. Let the South give up, and let the North keep not back. Let the Government discharge its high obligations with corresponding energy and promptitude. And then, by the blessing of Heaven, numerous Colonies will be planted upon the shores of Africa, where the free people of color and manumitted slaves will settle down under the banner of freedom, civilization, and the cross; the way will be opened for the ultimate annihilation of slavery at home, and the most valuable facilities will be afforded for accelerating the entire suppression of the slave-trade; for introducing into the interior of benighted, long-neglected, and insulted Africa, the light of the gospel, and the sources of that moral and intellectual elevation, "which ennobles the human character, and swells the tide of human happiness." Never was an enterprise projected by man, that could claim a larger amount of moral grandeur. *It aims to remove all the dangers, which throw a gloom over the brightest anticipations of our country's glory; to secure for the slave the redemption of his body, and that liberty wherewith Christ can make him free:—while in its final results, it sees every hand in Ethiopia stretched out unto God.*

It is a most humiliating consideration, that the battles of humanity must be fought over and over again—that every inch of ground must be contested. Though it is perfectly obvious to every reflecting mind, that nothing, which is to be affected by future contingencies, can ever be accomplished, if all possible or imaginary obstacles are first to be removed, yet there never has been a plan, however grand and benevolent, that has not been doomed to encounter the objections of the heartless, calculating, cold-blooded policy of selfishness and avarice.

Am I told, in the language of a common proverb, "it takes all sorts of people to make a world"—the population you wish to elevate and colonize, is indispensable to our convenience and comfort,—and besides, they are well enough as they are! Better far to say, the world is full of "all sorts of people," and it is high time it was not. The most ignorant, degraded, and vicious in the community, I suppose, are all "well enough;"—barbarians and heathen every where are all well enough. "Ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of innocence. The doctrine is unquestionable, as maintained by the mysterious and inexplicable Rousseau, that happiness is in the inverse ratio of improvement: that is to say, the savage with his wigwan, or his bear-skin, or the canopy of heaven for his shelter, and the game of the forest for his precarious subsistence, is much happier than he would be in the elevation of civilized society—in the dignity and glory of intellectual being—in the elysium of "thoughts that wander through eternity." These are not my sentiments. I would bring down knowledge and morality to every man's door. I would carry in-

to the lowest cell of obscurity and want, the hopes, and consolations, and riches of that gospel, which was first preached to the poor by the Creator and Redeemer of the world. Let every man in the community, no matter where his lot may have been cast, every man on earth—know and feel, that he is not a mere animal; but that his God has implanted within him a germ of immortality,—to flourish hereafter in Paradise above, or to wither amidst the cheerlessness of irremediable desolation. The spectacle of ignorance, intellectual, and especially moral, which may be seen in the most enlightened portions even of our own country, is painful in the extreme to the man of sympathy and love. And it is not too much to say, that he, who deliberately opposes the elevation of the slaves, the free People of Color, and the lower orders of the white population, is a traitor to humanity—is more unchristian than a heathen—more inhuman than a brute. There is no necessity, that all the treasures of science, or of an independent fortune, should be laid at every man's feet. Moral worth is the true criterion. It is the criterion of God, and where this is wanting, of what avail is the music of popular applause, or the glittering magnificence of wealth. I love, indeed, to see moral excellence in the companionship of riches, honor, and refinement, but I have yet to learn, that the brilliant saloon is any more congenial to the unobtrusive loveliness of virtue, than the homely retirement of the poor man's dwelling. The artificial distinctions of civil society are in themselves no standard of true greatness—no test of moral character.

“Pigmies are pigmies still—though perched on Alps:

“And pyramids are pyramids in vales.

“Virtue alone outbuilds the pyramids:

“Her monuments shall last when Egypt's fall.”

The ignorant and degraded of every nation or clime must be enlightened and elevated, before our earth can have honor in the universe. I do not ask you to build a palace for the free or the enslaved African,—to clothe him with purple and fine linen,—to load his table with luxuries. But I do ask, that he no longer be suffered to grovel in the dust, or to bend and writhe under the chains of bondage. If any portion of our soil cannot be cultivated by the labors of intelligent freeman,—rather than have it watered with the tears, and stained with the pollutions of slavery—let it become a howling wilderness. Let it “never be inhabited,” nor be “dwelt in from generation to generation.” But let “the wild beasts of the earth lie there; and the houses be full of doleful creatures; and the owls dwell there, and the satyrs dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.”

To emancipate and provide for the slaves, will be the work of years; and will require a large expenditure. No matter, if for the next fifty or a hundred years, it should cost an annual sum, equal to

the whole revenue of the United States. What is gold in comparison with the object? What is gold, when the interests of millions are at stake? Better, infinitely better, that every citizen, from Maine to Florida, should be reduced to penury, than that slavery, with its horrid retinue of guilt and wretchedness, should continue in our land. But no such sacrifice is necessary. "The world," said Mr. Pitt, "are under obligations to civilize Africa." And what nation owes a larger debt, than we do? In the payment, we are all holden. Millions of treasure at the North, though there are now but few slaves, were accumulated by means of "sinews bought and sold." And when a regard to the rights of man, the love of country, and the threatening justice of Almighty God, demand, that we aid in exterminating slavery among us, where is the man, so mercenary, so selfish, so hardened, so regardless of his duty and his God, that he would,

"For vile contaminating trash—throw up
"His hope in Heaven—his dignity with man."

I envy not the little soul, that never learned the "luxury of doing good." I envy not the man, who closely hugs his pelf to his bosom, and would not lift a finger to relieve a brother's wants, or to raise him from debasement. I envy not his communion with his conscience. And I covet not his feelings, when, in the last struggles of expiring nature, and with the last light of heaven, that falls upon his eye, he "reads his riches backward into loss."

In closing these articles, the writer, aware of many of their imperfections, submits them to the candor and moral sense of his readers. If any incorrectness of sentiment, or intemperance of language has escaped him, he asks that indulgence, which is the birth-right of erring humanity. He may be pitied for his weakness or delusion:—would to heaven it were his weakness or delusion. Defend or extenuate slavery, as you may—use all your logic and casuistry in an exculpation of the present owners of slaves—talk, as you will, of the impracticableness of cultivating the Southern soil without slave-labor, or of the necessity of such a debased population—and mourn as you please the dreaded loss of property from the abolition of involuntary servitude—slavery is a curse to our country, and our brethren at the South are dwelling in the midst of volcanoes. Dr. Firman may publish another pamphlet in vindication of the right of slavery and the slave-trade; the Governor of Georgia may reiterate his raving messages; and the majority of our slave holding fellow citizens may flatter themselves, that all is well; there is not a moment to be lost. The evils of slavery are every day growing with our growth, and strengthening beyond our strength. And delightful as it may be for the patriot to anticipate the period, when the busy hum of a free, industrious, and happy population, rising on these Eastern shores, and swelling across the valley of Missouri, shall at last

slumber in silence on the bosom of the Pacific, it becomes him to remember and ponder well, that futurity may prove his anticipations the airy sketches of a playful fancy, or the evanescent visions of a fervid imagination; it becomes him to remember and ponder well, that there is a leprosy, that infects not merely the fairest robes and the extremities, but is preying in the very vitals of our republic;—that the SLAVE, degraded, abused, and shorn of his strength, as he now is, may ere-long rise in an agony of desperation, like Sampson upon Philistia's taunting chivalry—and thrusting aside the pillars of our union and our greatness, lay our pride and our glory in ruins. We have no time to waste in controversy. What we do for Africa, for our country, for the generations that now sleep within us, we must do quickly, or never. Tomorrow, our

“Summons comes to join

“The innumerable caravan, that moves

“To the pale realms of shade;”

to that world of eternal retribution, where the distinctions of earth are levelled;—*where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor. The small and great are there; and the slave is free from his master.*

VIGORNIUS.



NOTE. The first of the foregoing papers was published in the Recorder and Telegraph, June 24th,—the last, July 29th, 1825. The Essays which follow, are arranged in the order of original publication.

SLAVERY.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Sept. 9, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—The liberal views, and free discussion, which have so long characterized your excellent paper, and given it an extensive circulation through the country, have induced me to beg the favor of addressing, through this medium, the author of six numbers, which you published on the subject of slavery; and, also, the author of two pieces, on the same subject, published in the March and May Numbers of the New Haven Christian Spectator. By granting this, you will confer an obligation on an unknown reader of the Recorder & Telegraph.

GENTLEMEN,—I have read your papers with some attention, and not a little surprise. They are such as I had not anticipated from the pen of any enlightened author of the nineteenth century. They contain sentiments, which I believe neither civil policy, nor the feelings of humanity, nor principles of religion, can justify—exhibit a spirit unlike that of the Christian, the statesman, or the philosopher—and tend to destroy the domestic, the social, and the civil happiness of all concerned. I feel myself therefore bound as a man, as a friend of my country, and as a Christian, to state to you plainly, my views of the sentiments, the spirit, and the tendency of your papers.

1. *Their sentiments.* They are such as have often been expressed by those, who are perfectly unacquainted with the real state of slavery, as it now exists in this country—who are in the habit of viewing every subject in the abstract—who would have every thing as it ought to be, or rather as they *desire* it; and not as a wise Providence has ordered it. That these sentiments are all erroneous, I would not venture to assert; but that they are brought to bear on a point, and were designed to enforce a sentiment, absolutely wrong and fraught with danger, I do most sincerely believe, and boldly affirm. The leading sentiment of these papers, the one they were designed to inculcate, is, that there must and will be an entire and immediate* abolition of slavery. This is expressed in the following language, “We may as well look the subject fairly in the face, and make up our minds, that the point to be aimed at is the entire and speedy abolition of sla-

* “A Carolinian” certainly misunderstands the author of “six numbers,” if he supposes him to be the advocate of *immediate* emancipation, as applied to the whole body of slaves. He does indeed use the expression “speedy abolition of slavery;” but besides, that there is nothing in the word “speedy,” which would imply *immediateness*, the general course of remark he pursues, would not at all admit of such an interpretation. Accordingly, in another place he says, “To emancipate and provide for the slaves, will be the work of years.” *Eds.*

very ; For whether we choose it or not, the thing will be done.” To render this true requires, I apprehend, aid more than human. I do not believe, that any power on earth is sufficient to accomplish it. And unless divine assistance has been guaranteed for the immediate removal of slavery, it will exist for years, and probably for ages yet to come.—It is further stated, that “ Emancipation must take place on the spot where slavery exists. Nothing short of this will meet the exigency ; and we shall only be throwing dust in each others eyes, if we talk of any thing short of this. We may inquire and debate, and exercise all the wisdom we have about the details of the mode in which it is to be done, but the thing to be done is incapable of alteration or debate. It can neither be divided nor shunned. It is just one simple thing, and is to be taken so as much as a declaration of war.” These extracts from the Spectator, present in a few words, the grand sentiment that runs through all these papers, and which they were particularly designed to enforce. There is one, however, worse than this, contained in No.V. published in the Recorder and Telegraph. It is too shocking to the feelings of humanity to mention. The bare thought makes the blood chill, and run back upon the aching heart. I turn from it, as from ore, that will find an advocate in none, but the enemy of man.—With reference to the general sentiment of these papers, then, let me ask, Is all further discussion on the subject of slavery to be abandoned, and our national government regardless of the feelings and interest of their constituents, silently to adopt a measure, which shall set at liberty two millions of ignorant slaves at once ; and thus reduce many in affluence to beggary, and also destroy the civil institutions and political importance of one half of these United States ? I trust that such a measure would find no advocate in our halls of legislation. Does humanity require, that these ignorant, degraded, and unprincipled beings should be let loose to butcher those they have been accustomed to fear, and then murder each other or starve to death ? It would be a scene at which weeping humanity would recoil. Do the principles of our holy religion call for the speedy liberation of those, who are incapable of governing or providing for themselves ; and whose unbounded licentiousness would influence them to violate all its holy precepts, and trample on most sacred rights of God and man ? I believe this golden rule of doing unto others as we would be done by, and the command not to do evil that good may come, require any thing rather than this. Or, do you mean to be understood as expressing the sentiment of those, who are determined at all hazards to effect the “ entire and speedy abolition of slavery”—who are ready to declare war with their brethren, and carry their point with the bayonet ? If so, be assured you are engaged in a desperate cause. The idea of immediate and complete emancipation is preposterous. It is in di-

rect opposition to every principle of civil policy, the better feelings of humanity, and the plain precepts of the gospel.

2. *Their spirit.* This is a delicate point, and must be touched lightly. When we come to speak of the spirit by which men are influenced, or the motives by which they are actuated, we feel ourselves to be on dangerous ground: For we are ever liable to be deceived, and to ascribe to them the same spirit that reigns in our own bosoms. And knowing that the best of men are sometimes under the influence of a wrong spirit, I would not presume to say, that the spirit here exhibited might not dwell in the breast of a sincere disciple of Christ; but I do say, that it is unlike his own, and one that he will never approve. It is entirely destitute of that meekness and humility so characteristic of himself and his true followers. Neither can I discern any marks of greatness, which entitle it to a rank among those master spirits, which animate the bosoms of enlightened statesmen. It suggests none of those bold and original thoughts, and excites none of those noble and generous feelings, which are the spontaneous growth of a great mind. Nor can I for a moment associate it with the higher order of spirits, which lie concealed from the common eye of inspection, in the bosoms of thinking philosophers. It pays no respect to *facts*, on which alone philosophy has ever deigned to form an argument, or attempted to support any position.

3. *Their tendency.* This is most pernicious, and most to be dreaded. They tend to excite all the unsanctified passions of the depraved heart, to suppress the benevolent efforts of the wise and pious, and to render more severe and more lasting the evils of slavery. The erroneous sentiments of these papers, supported only by *bold assertions*, will never convince the mind that thinks for itself; neither will they make men of the world willing to give up their possessions, their all, to gratify the caprice of the envious. On the contrary, they set their souls on fire, and influence them to call down heaven's severest curses on those, who advance them—to view with a jealous eye every exertion made to meliorate the condition of the slave—and to draw harder the cord, that holds their possessions. Neither have such sentiments ever received the approbation of the enlightened and judicious, or served to forward the great cause of Christian benevolence, in which they are engaged. They only check their operations; render them objects of suspicion and hatred, and blast their hopes of promoting the temporal and eternal happiness of their fellow men. Nor have they ever rendered the slave's condition more desirable, or advanced one step towards his emancipation. They rather serve to make his situation more unwelcome, by exciting the visionary hope of a speedy freedom; and his servitude more lasting, by stopping the general progress of light and knowledge. Such being the tendency of these papers, or rather of the sentiments they contain, I cannot but view them as *pernicious* and

dangerous. Should they be fully realized in this community, I have no doubt they would entirely and forever destroy our domestic peace, social happiness, and civil union. I therefore deprecate them, as I would a deadly blow aimed at all we hold dear.

A CAROLINIAN.



SLAVERY.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Sept, 23, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—Though I am not at all responsible for the papers signed “Vigornius” in your journal, or for those signed S. F. D. in the Christian Spectator, yet I feel some interest in the subject to which they and the remarks of “A Carolinian” relate. From the candor and good feelings which I think I can discern in this latter writer, I wish most earnestly to draw from him a statement of the feelings and expectations of our southern brethren, respecting the continuing or the removing of slavery. Although I think the two first mentioned writers have been so explicit, and have in some parts of their communications introduced such qualifications, that I can pronounce their general views to be in accordance with my own ; yet I would not adopt all the strong expressions of either, nor give utterance to some of their sentiments without additional qualifications.

So far from wishing, that the slaves should be immediately emancipated, unless some special provision could be made for them (I believe I speak the language of those, who have thought and felt most on the subject in New England,) we think it would be great cruelty both to them and to the white population. But at the same time we are of opinion, that if *immediate emancipation* of the slaves should take place, it would only be discharging a small part of the obligations we are under to them. They have, in the course of a mysterious Providence, been thrown upon our hands ; they have been tremendously wronged by us ; they have contributed to our ease and wealth,—and we are not to turn them off with bare freedom, when through our instrumentality or neglect they have been wholly disqualified to conduct themselves properly in such a state, or even to enjoy it. Benevolence and justice unitedly and loudly demand, that we teach them how, and place them in circumstances, to do both. We do not ask or wish our brethren of the South to turn their slaves loose without knowledge, without moral principle, without any habits of subjection except to the rod of an overseer. We aim at doing something,—and we ask them, and say they ought, at once, to engage with us in doing something,—more conducive to the interest of the negro, and as we think, more conducive to the interest of the white man too. We ask them to engage in a series of prospective measures, which

shall tend to fit the negro to be free. We ask them to make laws to meliorate the condition of the slave,—to encourage enterprize—to diffuse knowledge—to instil moral principle—to facilitate self-emancipation. We ask them to fasten their eyes on ultimate and total emancipation, as the only course which humanity, or justice, or patriotism, permits them to take. We ask them to come to a settled conclusion, that, whatever sacrifices they must make—whatever changes in their domestic economy it may render necessary—whatever labours it may cost them—*their slaves must be emancipated*, and made to enjoy the blessings of civil liberty, and the dearer blessings of knowledge and Christianity; that this debt must be discharged. And when they have come to this practical conclusion, we ask them to advance one step farther, and determine that plans must be formed, and measures of operations adopted, *without delay*; great plans—efficient measures—for there is a great and most difficult work to be accomplished.

We are convinced, and if our Southern brethren are not convinced, we wish to convince them, and think with a little discussion we could convince them, that to postpone these prospective measures a day, is a great crime;—that their having been postponed so long, is also a great crime;—and moreover, we wish to state distinctly, that this postponement is that, in which we consider the guilt of slavery, so far as the present proprietors are concerned, to consist: and we wish, even if we *do not* repeat it, whenever we speak of the crime of slavery, to be understood to have reference to this, and this alone.

We do not mean by these remarks to *exclude* from our moral estimate the fact, that slavery gives opportunity, and presents excitements, to indulge the worst passions of our nature, and that in this way also, the toleration of it becomes the source of a multitude of moral evils, the guilt of which is to be attributed to the slave system; but these, though the invariable concomitants of it, are in some measure adventitious.

Now, in view of these evils, we wish to know, what plans, what expectations our brethren of the South have formed on the subject; and what are their desires. Let them lay their finger upon their plans. Let them state explicitly and definitely to what conclusions they have come respecting the continuance, or the methods of removing the evils of slavery. We do not say this in the language of authority or reproach. It is a subject, however, in which we feel deeply, and have a right so to feel. We consider it the cause of humanity—of justice—of patriotism; and in this cause we profess to have embarked. We wish most heartily, that our Southern brethren would go *forward* in this business; we will most cheerfully take our proper place of subsidiaries in the great national work, and would gladly avail ourselves of the advice of those who, from their circumstances and experience, are so well able to give it.—If we have entered upon this matter with a wrong

spirit, let them *show* wherein it is so. If we have proposed wrong *measures*, or made erroneous *statements*, let them *show* how and where.

Our Southern brethren must not however expect to deter us from our purpose, by presenting to us the frightful images of insurrections, massacres, and servile war. We have long had in our minds, images as frightful as these ; images, which are *only images of really existing evils* connected with this system ; and though they have been in our contemplations long, and we have very often compared them with insurrections and servile war, yet we hardly know which to look upon with the least agitation. Either class are awful enough to make any feeling man tremble, and to call for immediate and powerful remedies. In forming an estimate of these calamities, our results differ from those of our Southern brethren ; perhaps, from the circumstances that we have no partialities for the white man, above what we have for the colored man. We sympathize as much with the latter, when he is wronged, or in distress, as we do with the former ; and in all our contemplations on this subject, we take into view the prospects of the one as well as those of the other.

Nor are we to be deterred from our purpose, by being told that we are ignorant of the whole subject. Of many of the details of slavery we doubtless are, and ever desire to be ignorant ; but of its general features, and principles, and influence, we claim to have some knowledge, and that too from authentic sources. Nor should we find it necessary to confine ourselves to minute instances of rare outrage and cruelty—but would look only to evils which are either literally coextensive with the slave territory, or are general throughout it.

There is, as yet, if it were my business, no need of defending any of the leading positions taken by either of the writers on whom “A Carolinian” has remarked, because their reasoning has not, as yet, been shown to be fallacious ; and in those cases where there is nothing but assertion, the propositions of these writers seem so obviously the dictates of common sense, at least, of common sense in this *free country*, that it would be difficult to say where to begin, or what method to take to illustrate them, until we know in what way they will be attacked. We are, however, by no means averse to a full discussion of this whole subject :—On the contrary, there is nothing which we more desire, than to learn from our Southern brethren themselves, what their creed on the slave system is. Do they wish to have *any thing* done towards the abolition of slavery ? Do they wish to have it done as *speedily* as possible ? Do they believe that any thing *can* be done ? Do they believe there is any *injustice* in reducing their fellow men to servitude, and in keeping them so, without making *any efforts* to give them freedom, and knowledge, and Christianity ? Or, do they believe that God has so constituted us and them, and

so arranged things in his providence, that this multitude must, unavoidably, not only have been for centuries, but must still be, indefinitely deprived and kept destitute of every thing, which ennobles and blesses man; and this, through our oppressions, and to subserve our interests?—And can all this be without guilt? We think slavery so great a national calamity, and crime too;—one so threatening in its aspect, one which so much involves our national character,—that it ought to enlist the feelings of the whole nation; that their wisdom and energy ought to be concentrated upon it. We do not wish for force or legislative enactments:—certainly not till our nation is more united in feeling concerning the subject than it is now; but we wish to have the subject presented to our whole population in its true colors—we wish to produce in the minds of all a proper state of feeling—and we expect, and wish, for no other cure of the numberless and aggravated evils attending slavery, than change in public opinion. We therefore look to a discussion of its principles and influence, as the means of developing truth, and effecting this change.

PHILO.



SLAVERY. No. I.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Sept. 30, 1825.

MESSRS EDITORS,—Permit a Southern-man, who is a subscriber and constant reader of your very valuable paper, to throw in a word or two on the subject, which a writer under the signature of *Vigornius* has been discussing, in six numbers, and to which another writer, under the signature of *A Carolinian*, has taken exception. To give you my own views in full on this interesting topic, would require a space in your column at least as large as has been occupied by the former of your correspondents, and it is not impossible, that, if I can command sufficient leisure, I may yet have to crave the indulgence of your readers for occupying so much of their attention.

The topic in question is certainly assuming more and more moment and magnitude, as well from the existing and in some respect continually progressing, state of the world, as from recent important occurrences in our own country.

I take it for granted, Messrs. Editors, that *Vigornius* and the writers on slavery in the *Christian Spectator*, are actuated by pure and upright motives in their strictures on this, as well as on every other matter, which they discuss. The general character of both works, their tendency, and the objects they aim at, justify me in this conclusion. I feel equal satisfaction in believing, that *A Carolinian* has right feelings in the remarks he has made, and in the exceptions he has taken. For if I do not misunder-

stand him, he admits, certainly he does not deny, the correctness of the main positions taken by the writers, on whom he animadverts : that, viewing slavery in the abstract, their views harmonize ; but, that in the character of it, as it exists in the United States, the degree of guilt involved in it, and the means of ridding ourselves of it, the difference of opinion chiefly, if not exclusively consists.

I am firm in the conviction, and happy in being able to cherish such a conviction, that, whatever differences of opinion and of feeling may exist between Northern and Southern politicians and worldlings, Northern and Southern Christians almost entirely accord in sentiment ; or if they do not, that a fair, and candid, and thorough mutual discussion, would in a little time bring them into a harmonious state of thinking and feeling on this subject.

Under this impression, I have more than once very deeply regretted, that, mixed with or interspersed among many valuable remarks and accurate reasonings in the essays of some of the best religious papers at the North, there should have appeared from time to time so much of misrepresentation as to facts, and of exaggeration, where the facts themselves were on the whole true, as to have excited disgust in some of the best people at the South, and to have disqualified them for looking into the subject as calmly, and discussing it as thoroughly, as they otherwise might, and I believe would have done. This mis-statement or exaggeration of facts, and reflection on character by some good men at the North, have excited at the South much of a correspondent spirit, and induced good men there to "speak unadvisedly with their lips," in reference to their Northern brethren.

If Northern writers really design in their remarks and reasonings on the subject of slavery, to favour the cause of emancipation, or to meliorate the condition of the blacks until they are emancipated, they ought to be sensible, that they can do neither without Southern co-operation ; or if they succeed at all in either respect, it must be by much slower degrees and a more tedious process. But let them write and act discreetly, (with this qualification I care not then how *vigorously*,) let them take care to be rather below, than beyond the truth in their statements of the treatment the blacks receive ; let them give us full credit for the amount and number of their privileges, &c. ; and they will carry along with them, many Southern hearts and hands, the former of which will grow cold, and the latter hang idly down, when a different course is pursued. I have been more than once grieved and offended, to see in Northern journals instances of severe treatment of slaves, that are of rare occurrence ; and that excite nearly, if not quite as much abhorrence at the South as at the North, exhibited in such a manner as to produce the impression, that these are only specimens of what is common. As Americans, we have often complained of the injustice done us in books of travels, written by

foreigners, who have had a transient residence among us, and who, for want of time, industry, care, or impartiality, have flagrantly misrepresented the American people. Equal reason have the inhabitants of the region I reside in, to complain of the injustice done us by our Northern brethren. And however good may be their motives, which I do not wish to be so uncharitable as to impeach, the effect has been most inauspicious on the only people, who have it in their power to remedy real grievances, which may be complained of, but from whom the disposition to do so, when it exists, is taken away by this ungenerous treatment. And while we have been charged as a *community* with sins, the guilt of which belongs to *individuals*, there is, an apparent reluctance to admit statements of the good, which many are doing or attempting to do.

There is, I am aware, much difference in different slave states, and even in different parts of the same state, as to the number, and kind, and degrees of hardships, which the slaves labour under on the one hand, and the nature, extent, and variety of their privileges on the other. But when a Northern pen undertakes to inflict castigation on a Southern culprit, it is important, as far as it can be done, that the reader should know where that culprit is. Otherwise, we Southerners, whose blood imbibes much of the caloric belonging to our climate, become so combustible, that the fire is with difficulty extinguished, and abandoning "our arguments," whether we have "exhausted" them or not, we conclude to "stand by our arms." If Virginia, for example, has done something either by her legislature or her people, which ought not to be done, and she is corrected for it, either by "the scourge of the tongue or pen," unless she is very definitely specified, as meant, Carolina or Georgia will writhe under the stroke. I remember an occurrence, that took place a few years since, when the Panoplist was living. Virginia had passed some abominable act, the design of which (if I recollect right; if I am wrong, I wish to be set right,) was to suppress Sabbath Schools, and to prevent the religious instruction of the blacks. Some strong and able hand undertook to administer the discipline of powerful argument to her back; but the lash of his whip was so long, that it reached several hundred miles farther, than perhaps he who handled it, intended; at all events farther than the immediate and original occasion required, and many Carolinians cried out, "he is scourging us, and we do not deserve it; for we have not committed the alleged fault." In plain language, the author passed from the immediate occurrence, which put his pen in motion, to a discussion of the evils of slavery *in general*, its deteriorating tendency, &c. and some of his readers in a different part of the country from that in which the principal evil complained of existed, applied the whole of his remarks, from first to last, to themselves, and cried out, "he means us." I trust therefore, that for the

general good, *whenever it can be done*, writers will localize (if I may so speak) their remarks more than they sometimes do.

Slavery exhibits a very different aspect in different slave-holding states, or different parts of the same state, according to the circumstances in which it exists, or by which it is surrounded. Where there is a powerful religious influence existing, and gospel institutions exist in all their strength and vigor, many a son of Belial, who would, if he could, rival the barbarity of the monster, that tears the children of Africa from their own shores, has "a bridle put into his mouth, and a hook in his jaws," by the predominant influence of public opinion. He dare not act out the wickedness of his heart; it would be as unpopular in the eyes of his neighbour, as it is detestable in the view of his God. And if Christian influence is considerable in a community, it will be imparted to those, who legislate for them and by their appointment. The laws therefore of different slave holding states will savour of cruelty or of kindness to those, that are in bondage, just in proportion to the strength of Christian influence in the community. Hence, while some legislatures have passed penal laws against instructing the blacks to read, and some, if I mistake not, even against their religious instruction, others have left the community free and unfettered on that important subject. While Virginia has been rigorous, (and let me add rigorously sinful) in her restrictions here, South Carolina has opposed no obstacle in the way of a good man's conscience in the duty of instructing his slaves. And it is too late in the day to attempt it now.

While on this topic, Messrs. Editors, permit me to dissent from a position, which Northern writers on slavery seem to have assumed, as possessing the certainty of a maxim. The amount of it is this, that the legislative acts of any State are a fair criterion, by which to judge of the opinions, the spirit, and the feelings of the people. This sentiment cannot be admitted without, in many cases, very much qualification. Many laws, severe in their aspect, owe their origin to certain emergencies, which produce great excitement at the time. Such laws, though remaining on our statute books, become obsolete in fact afterwards, and pass away with the occasion that gave rise to them. What would be thought of the character of South Carolina for example, if we judged of it by an existing law which enacts, that all assemblages of blacks for religious worship are unlawful, unless a majority of whites are present. Such a law *in its letter* puts our slaves under the ban of the empire, as to all social worship among themselves, as effectually, as though they were under the thumb of his Holiness at Rome. But the intention of the law was to counteract insurrectionary schemes, which have almost always been engendered and cherished at meetings professedly religious. The object of the law therefore is completely gained, and the spirit of it complied with, if three or four white persons, possessing the con-

fidence of the community, are found in an assembly of 2 or 300 slaves. Such is the language of fact *now*, even in that state, which has so recently been agitated with apprehensions of an insurrection. I must maintain therefore, that it is an untenable position, to say, that in all instances, the laws of a state, or nation, are a certain index to its spirit and character.

I have much to say on the topic I have taken up, and I want to say it all, if I can find time and health for the purpose. Much that I may say, will probably be condemned at the South; and much perhaps at the North. But wishing to divest myself of all influences either of hope or fear, approbation or disapprobation, whether by Southerners, among whom I dwell, and among whom my attachments and affections, interests and connections lie, or by Northerners, many of whom are deservedly dear to me, it is my desire to speak plain, unvarnished truth. My inquiries are touching these two points principally, Is slavery lawful or unlawful; and if lawful, under what circumstances? that is the first question. The 2d is, if unlawful slavery exists in any community, what is the *duty* of a person who resides in such community, both his duty as an individual, for the guidance of his own conscience, and his duty as a member of the community, whom he is bound to influence by all means in his power, to do what is right? The only principles, upon which I consider, that this subject can be treated fairly, are those contained in the *scriptures*, and (to an American,) those contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. To whatever conclusion such an inquiry logically and legitimately leads, I would attach the motto, "*Fiat justitia: ruat cælum.*"

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. II.

From the Recorder & Telegraph Oct. 7, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—I asked a place in your columns, to take some part in a discussion, which had been pursued to a considerable extent in journals at the North, but had undergone little or no investigation at the South. As one residing in this latter region, I apprehended it might be in my power to give more correct views, so far as facts are concerned, of the real state of things in the slave-holding states, than could be given, or at least than were frequently given, in New England; while at the same time, it must be fully and freely admitted, that on the abstract question of slavery, its consistency or inconsistency with the word of God, its congruity or incongruity with the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, and with the American Constitution, a Northern pen was just as competent as a Southern to do jus-

rice to the subject ; or if there be any difference arising from local situation, on said *abstract question*, a Northern man might write with a more unprejudiced and unbiassed mind, and therefore be more likely to arrive at truth.

I suggested in my last, that the pieces in recent numbers of the Recorder and Telegraph, and in the March and May numbers of the Christian Spectator, and the remarks upon both by a Carolinian, were my inducements for taking a part in this discussion.

It is my design, in the present communication, to express my views, to greater or less extent in reference to several particulars embodied in those essays ; approving where I can, and disapproving where I must. The whole subject is so copious, that I almost fear yourselves, or your readers, may not have patience to attend to its thorough investigation. Yet what subject of more intense and vital importance to our country, (and let me add, to the world,) has ever appeared on your pages ! The North and the South are almost equally interested in it, and good men in both regions ought to rejoice that this discussion is going on ; ought not to desire its termination, until the subject is left on such a basis, that Christians at least may 'see eye to eye,' and act hand to hand, in relation to it. But let this discussion be mutual, and let it be thorough—though, if necessary, it be protracted through every one of your numbers to the close of the year. It must be carried on too, on both sides, in your's or some other Northern journal ;—for at the South we dare not touch it, at least only on one side. There we are obliged to call what you here denominate an ex-parte council, to decide the question ; and how much impartiality may be expected in a decision arrived at under these circumstances, no one can be at a loss to know. I deem it important, that at the very moment, and without any longer delay, the merits of this question may be sifted to the bottom, and that the consciences of Christians at least, may receive a right guidance.

Shortly after the alarming state of things in Charleston from a meditated servile insurrection, there was published in the Southern quarter of our land, a pamphlet, entitled something like this : "An Exposition of the views of the Baptists on the subject of Slavery." It was passed at a Baptist Convention, and ordered to be published. I think there is strong reason to believe it was written by some individual of their number, probably of high standing among them, without any express previous appointment by the body ; that it was read at their convention ; and from its plausibility, adopted without much if any discussion ; and that therefore it can hardly be considered as containing the *deliberate* opinion of that, or of any other body of Christians. We know, that at such meetings of religious bodies, there is always enough of public business of a more appropriate kind to occupy the whole time, and more than the time allotted to such ecclesiastical meetings, and that extraneous and unexpected business is often either

thrust out or else inconveniently hurried through; I have my doubts, therefore, whether this important subject ever went through that long and impartial discussion by the Baptist Convention, that a topic of such immense magnitude was entitled to. I seriously doubt whether there was any discussion at all. But admitting that there was, I never have been able to see why the Baptists should consider themselves particularly called upon officially and publicly to express their opinions on this subject. I know not, that they, as a body, were particularly suspected by the rest of the community as holding sentiments adverse to slavery, or unsafe to the interests of a slave holding state. I know not that any other denomination had so arrayed themselves in a hostile attitude against the existing state of things at the South, as to incur the suspicions or the disapprobation of the community at large, and the Baptists felt obligated to exempt themselves from the odium. Twenty or thirty years ago, the Methodists had exhibited a very uncommon anti-servile spirit: but recently they have seemed to acquiesce in what they could not remedy, with as much silence and submission, as any other community of Christian professors. But whatever were the motives of our Baptist brethren, and whether they came forward, called or uncalled, to the vindication of slavery and of the slave-trade, (for I agree with Vigornous, that the slave-trade, as well as slavery, finds its defence in the principles contained in the "Exposition,") they have placed themselves on the popular side of the question, and may probably find some reward, even from the approbation in this particular, of men of the world. Should any individual consider the principles contained in the Exposition unscriptural, and the reasoning fallacious and inconclusive, still it would be difficult for him, if not impracticable, to print and circulate his opposite sentiments at the South, and by some it would be regarded as bringing into hazard the safety of the community.

These are the reasons why I am gratified to find the examination of the arguments for slavery undertaken in Northern prints. And for the candor evinced in general in these prints, I hope that their columns will be equally accessible on this subject to Southern and Northern pens, to advocates, and adversaries of involuntary personal servitude. For my own part, Messrs. Editors, I must confess, as far as I can recollect, the contents of the Exposition, (it must be, however, two years since I read it,) Vigornius has loosened the corner-stone and taken up the whole foundation of the system attempted to be supported in that pamphlet.

What I mean next, and now to do, is, to direct the attention of your readers to those portions of the pieces in the Recorder and the Spectator which I particularly approve; and wish to have insisted on to greater extent and by farther illustration, as also to those parts from which I am constrained to dissent. And if my

remarks on either particular can be detected as erroneous, he who can set me right by fair and strong argument, "erit mihi magnus Apollo." To the Christian Spectator I will first direct my attention, and whether the remarks I make should be found to cut Northern or Southern men; (and I apprehend they will do both at different times,) I wish to be considered as adopting for my motto

"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

In the number for March, first paragraph of the 133 page, I find the writer saying, "There can be no palliation for the conduct of those, who first brought the curse of slavery upon poor Africa, and poor America too. But the body of this generation are not liable to this charge. Posterity are not answerable for the sins of their fathers, unless they approve their deeds." Would to God, Messrs Editors, we could take the benefit of this saving clause. But I fear it will not prove such a safety-valve to us as the writer wishes. It unfortunately happens, that the present generation have "approved the deeds of their fathers." There was a time, previous to the penal arrest by Congress in 1808, of the importation of slaves into the United States, when Southern ports were closed by the edicts of Southern legislatures against this "first born of hell," this infernal traffic. But that time did not endure. Cupidity got the better of conscience, and of regard to safety, and the legislature of South Carolina, (perhaps of other slave-holding states too,) threw the door wide open to the introduction of Africans, and hundreds and thousands were introduced by almost every eastern breeze, and were eagerly bought. Legislatures of the present generation, therefore, have been guilty of this *original sin*. And so far as the community were concerned in patronizing and appointing men of such a description to legislate for them, the community was guilty too. And every one, who did not bear his decided testimony against it, and every minister of Jesus, who did not lift up his loud and warning voice, was a large sharer in the guilt. When that question, Messrs. Editors, was brought before a Southern legislature, the remonstrating eloquence of a Barnwell, who exerted his utmost efforts to turn back the setting tide, and who ventured on the floor to predict a St. Domingo scene, spoke in vain. Yes, the present generation are guilty, awfully guilty, and let us not "cover our sins, for we shall not prosper, but confess and forsake them, that we may have mercy." We certainly are under obligation to our Northern brethren for throwing *this* mantle of charity over our shoulders, and it ought to be viewed as making considerable amends for their smittings on other parts of the same subject. But the mantle itself is transparent, and we still appear in the nakedness of our guilt.

The remarks contained in the second column of page 133, perhaps ought to be modified. As the case has stood until within 15

or 20 years past, I admit the observations *in extenso* relative to the fact that nothing has been done by the national or state legislatures, to recognize or maintain any rights in the slave. And it is true to this day, that Congress has done nothing on this important subject. Perhaps the internal regulation of the slaves, such as S. F. D. would have accomplished, is a matter in which Congress could not lawfully interfere. This however I leave for politicians to decide. But there has been a manifest improvement made by the legislatures of at least some of the slave-holding states. Some rights of slaves are recognized even by law, at least theoretically, and public opinion I trust is recognizing them more and more, practically. But more on this subject hereafter.

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. III.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Oct. 14, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—The contents of my former numbers are not much more than preliminary remarks. The merits of the two questions at the close of the first, have not come under regular discussion at all. Nor shall I take them up in this communication. Nor do I promise to pursue any particular method in what I now say, or may hereafter say; I hope, however, not to be very immethodical, and defect of arrangement merely, will not destroy the truth (if they should be true) of my statements and reasonings; neither would the most logical arrangement of the parts of the subject, of itself, prove the truth of my positions. Your readers will bear with me, if I am still more desultory than they could wish. If what I say may only be successful in bringing into the field of discussion abler pens than mine, or exciting to reflection men, who have more time upon their hands, my object will be completely gained, and I shall look on, an unengaged, but by no means an unconcerned spectator. My whole heart is in this subject, nor can I conceive of one, at the present time more worthy to occupy the ablest heads and the best hearts in our country. The question of slavery is neither a Northern nor Southern question; it is an *American* question. It is interesting, deeply interesting, and every day grows more and more interesting, to the Christian, to the politician, and to the philanthropist,—no matter whether he live North or South of the Potomac. Viewed in all its bearings, there is nothing like locality about it.

On the piece signed "A Carolinian," I wish now to make remarks. Glad should I be to find a Carolinian, or any slave-holding man, entering on this business with seriousness and sincerity, with equanimity and impartiality. The mischief and the

misery with us at the South is, that while all the rest of the world is in motion on the subject,—England, South America, the Northern States,—we are “slumbering and sleeping,” and to all who attempt to awaken us say, “a little more sleep, a little more slumber,” if we do not do worse,—and to every one who addresses us upon it, “It is none of your business.” I am glad “A Carolinian” has written, because I hope he will write again; or if not he, some other Carolinian, or Georgian, or Kentuckian slave-holding man. He wants discussion, Messrs Editors, and discussion let him have. He says (about the middle of his second paragraph) “Is all further discussion on the subject of slavery to be abandoned, &c.” He himself doubtless, after penning such a sentence, will say *No*—and I say *No*, and so I trust will Vigornius, and the writers in the Christian Spectator, and the Editors of the Recorder and Telegraph. Let us discuss the affair to its very core. If it have all the sides of an octagon, let us look at each one successively and distinctly and leisurely; and if truth can be elicited, and duty ascertained, let us speak, let us act, as the case requires. If slavery be lawful, if it be desirable, if it be a blessing and not a curse, let us cling to it and defend it and applaud it. If it be morally wrong and yet irremediable, let the South endure, and the North sympathize; yea, let us all “bear one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.” But if it be an evil, moral, or political, or both, and a remedy is or can be devised, let *the whole American people* (for “we are brethren” and ought “not to fall out by the way”) put forth their mightiest and most perpetuated efforts till a radical cure is effected,

But what does “A Carolinian” say? The object of his piece is to condemn *first*, the sentiments, *second*, the spirit, and *third*, the tendency of Vigornius’ six communications. On the “sentiments,” he says, “They are such as have been often expressed by those, who are perfectly unacquainted with the real state of slavery, as it now exists in this country—who are in the habit of viewing every subject in the abstract—who would have every thing as it ought to be, or rather as they *desire* it; and not as a wise Providence has ordered it.” The chief, nay almost the only complaint I have to make on this sentence from my brother of the South, is its indefiniteness. It is highly probable he and I would agree in our opinions with respect to certain statements of the writers he comments on—would agree, that these writers have misrepresented facts as they actually exist, so far as the *information and means of observation* possessed by “A Carolinian” and myself extend. I can say that the picture is quite too highly colored in reference to my region of country, and doubtless *A Carolinian* may say the same in relation to the place in which his residence is fixed. But on this subject I have expressed my views already in former numbers. Still I think Vigornius particularly a calm and candid writer, and with very few exceptions an able and

conclusive reasoner. His last number, which winds up his whole discussion, is as admirable for the excellence of the spirit it breathes, as for the value and correctness of the sentiments it expresses. No man would know from it in what part of our wide continent he drew his breath, or wrote his essays. The feelings exhibited, and the sentiments uttered, are American and Christian. He views slavery not as a Southern, but as an American calamity—not a Southern, but a National sin—and he calls upon *the nation* to relieve itself of this calamity, to repent of and forsake this sin; and to a considerable extent, he tells them how. He does not require them to make bricks without furnishing them with straw.

And even in relation to certain statements to which both "A Carolinian" and I would object, he may have received information from a source, which he thought entitled to credit; or his remarks, however inapplicable to the neighbourhood of "A Carolinian," or to my neighbourhood, may, for ought we know to the contrary, be strictly and literally true in relation to many other places. If for instance, "A Carolinian" lives in Charleston, and myself in Abbeville or Pendleton, what may be untrue or exaggerated in respect to either of these places, may be literally correct in respect to other parts of South Carolina or Georgia. Vigornius and his coadjutors are speaking of the *slave-holding states*; and it is a very small portion of the vast extent of country comprehended under that phrase, to which either my coadjutor (in this instance) or I have personal access, or of which either of us has personal knowledge. And perhaps he, certainly I, can remember a time, not very far back, when probably all that these writers have said, was strictly true in relation to the places which he and I inhabit. Yes, I remember scenes from which my soul recoils, the recollection of which makes my flesh shiver. Would to God the black and bloody particulars could be blotted out of the book of mental history; for literal history of such detestable business there is none. We shall never publish our shame to the world.

But let us hear "A Carolinian" again. In the sentence already quoted, he says, there are men, (the Recorder and Christian Spectator writers included.) "who would have every thing as it ought to be, or rather as they *desire* it; and not as a wise Providence has ordered it." I hardly know what to make of this sentence, and almost fear to comment upon it, lest, through misunderstanding, I should (which I do not intend or wish) misrepresent it. It appears to give and take—to concede and immediately revoke the concession. Perhaps I said too much in No. 1, when I represented these writers as harmonizing at all. He seems to have felt, that it was rather awkward business to censure men for wishing to have things as they *ought* to be, an ar-

rangement which every good man, wherever he lives, *ought* to wish; and therefore qualifies, and by so doing neutralizes it, by adding "or rather as they *desire* it." Now what is it these writers *desire*? It is, if I understand them the *abolition of slavery*, not its *immediate* abolition,—a statement which, I shall presently show, is unfounded. But "A Carolinian" sets in opposition to this desire, the ordering of the Providence of God—"not as a wise Providence has ordered it." Is every thing then which men do, right, simply because Providence has ordered it? Then I would ask him to put his finger on a single event that ever happened, which ought to be denominated a crime. What is it that the Providence of God does not order? When Jesus Christ was crucified, nothing more, nothing farther took place, (if Scripture testimony may be credited) than what "God's hand and counsel determined before to be done." Was the crucifixion of the Messiah therefore right? and was Peter wrong and cruel in his charge, and inconclusive in his reasoning, when he told the Jews, that "with *wicked hands* they had crucified and slain" him? The long dispersions and the severe oppressions, to which the Jewish nation have been, and to which they are even now subjected, are "as a wise Providence has ordered it." So it was foretold it should be, and so in fact it has been and is. But are the nations, by whom that miserable people have been "scattered and peeled," justifiable and even innocent for their barbarous deeds? Then has our country been sadly guilty of rebellion against the "wise Providence" of God, for treating them like men, treating them so much better than they have been treated by the rest of the world. "A Carolinian's" argument here, by proving vastly too much, proves just nothing at all. Neither the decrees nor the Providence of God constitute any rule of duty to us. Our duty is to be ascertained from his commands alone.

Having corrected "A Carolinian's" logic, I would next rectify his misapprehension and consequent misstatement of the representations of the writers he remarks on. The "*immediate abolition of slavery*" is a point Vigornius has not arrived at—nay he has most clearly and strongly said, that this work must be gradual, and so say nearly, if not quite, all prudent men. He says indeed, that the slaves in question have an immediate *right* to liberty, a conclusion to which he supposed himself conducted by the process of reasoning through which he had passed. But at the same time, he seems to admit, that it is right in those who hold them, to refrain from manumission, under circumstances which render it evident it would be no blessing either to themselves or their emancipators, but a greater curse to both. I refer "A Carolinian" for proof to Vigornius' 6th number. He pleads, it is true, for *speedy* emancipation, and immediate preparatory steps. But immediate and speedy are not synonymous expressions. One is

an absolute, the other a relative or comparative term. An event may in one view of it be regarded as very speedy, which in another might be pronounced very gradual. If slavery should be entirely abolished from the United States in 30, 40, or even 50 years, many, who have looked at the difficulties of the subject and been alarmed and overwhelmed at their amount, will readily admit, that it would be a speedy abolition; while every one must perceive, that it would be far, very far, from an *immediate* abolition. In a certain sense abolition may be immediate; in another, speedy; and in both, practicable and safe. There are not a few blacks now at the South, qualified for immediate emancipation, if Legislatures would permit, and owners would confer it;—many, who have health, and industry, and intelligence, and virtue, and character quite sufficient to render them useful and valuable freemen; and as to the *safety* of the experiment, that is amply secured, in my opinion, by the established and flourishing colony now on the coast of Africa, to which they could be at once transported.

“A Carolinian” appears to me to have completely confounded the two writers he animadverts on, and to have made each of them answerable for every thing said by the other. This is not fair. I presume there is no connivance, nor previous or understood agreement between them. The writer in the Recorder is much more full and thorough in his discussion, and goes more into the heart and core of his subject, and I can admit his reasonings and his statements with less qualification, than I can assent to many things in the writer in the other journal. But whatever exception “A Carolinian” and myself may take, and justly, to several observations in both of them, so far as they are brought to bear upon the real state of things as they exist in our respective places of residence, is there not more, very much more, of a different character in them both, worthy of the serious attention of us both, and of all our neighbours in the slave-holding states? And I am sorry, that amidst his vituperations of these writers, he could find so little to praise; and what he does seem to praise, he rather apologizes for, than actually commends. To a writer who has investigated his subjects so thoroughly, written so ably, and with not many exceptions, so amiably too—who has written throughout so much like an American and a Christian as Vigornius, I am sorry “A Carolinian” can find it in his heart to say no more than—“that these sentiments are *all* erroneous, I would not venture to assert.” Interested as I am in the subject, and desirous of understanding it, and of possessing a good conscience; feeling too, as though it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to loosen the foundation he has laid, I should be glad if “A Carolinian,” instead of coldly admitting, that the sentiments are not *all* erroneous, would undertake to *prove*, that even a *tenth* part of

them are so ; and for this purpose, I trust, Messrs. Editors, you will give him, or any other man that will undertake it, an abundance of column-room.

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. IV.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, October 21, 1825.

Messrs. Editors,—Your paper of the 23d Sept. has had time to reach me, and I am not a little gratified to find a writer, who signs himself “Philo,” and who seems to have taken up his pen in consequence of the stricture of “A Carolinian,” inviting discussion from the South, and calling upon us who live in the atmosphere of slavery, to say what ought to be done, and to propose what can be done. “I wish,” says he, “most earnestly to draw from him (“A Carolinian”) a statement of the feelings and expectations of our Southern brethren respecting the continuing or removing of slavery.” And he closes his piece by saying, “we therefore look to a discussion of its (viz. the subject of slavery) principles and influence, as the means of developing truth, and effecting this change” viz. a change in public opinion. While I hope “A Carolinian” will pay attention to the summons of Philo, and debate the matter in question fairly and fully, I trust that as the call of the latter on us is a general one, what I may have to say in this and in ensuing numbers, should there be any more, will be regarded by him as complying with his wishes. For my own part I have already, in former communications, cheerfully conceded to him what he seems to claim in the following sentence, “Nor are we,” viz. we of the North, “to be deterred from our purpose, by being told that we are ignorant of the whole subject. Of many of the details of slavery we doubtless are, and ever desire to be ignorant ; but of its general features and principles and influence, we claim to have some knowledge, and that too from authentic sources. Nor should we find it necessary to confine ourselves to minute instances of rare outrage and cruelty,—but would look only to evils, which are literally co-extensive with the slave territory, or are general throughout it.” No one surely can reasonably object to the ground here assumed. It is common ground, and qualified by no locality whatever.

My present remarks will take their shape and direction chiefly, if not entirely, from the queries, suggestions, and observations of “Philo.” This writer does not undertake to justify every thing, that Vigornius has said ; nor to approve every statement, which S. F. D. has made. Yet, taken *as a whole*, he assumes the correctness of the principles and the conclusiveness of the reasonings of both these individuals. And what can be more fair than the call

he makes, when, including those who have preceded him in the discussion of the subject with himself, he says, "If we have entered upon this matter with a wrong *spirit*, let them," (viz. Southern brethren) "*show* wherein it is so. If we have proposed wrong *measures* or made erroneous *statements*, let them show *how* and *where*." Of this apparently candid and sincere invitation to investigate the subject, I shall freely avail myself.

He expresses a "wish most earnestly to draw from him ("A Carolinian,") a statement of the feelings and wishes of our Southern brethren respecting the continuing or removing of slavery." If a Carolinian is possessed of sufficiently accurate and extensive information to meet this wish, it is hoped he will gratify it. For my own part, though not able to say what proportion would prefer the latter of the proposed alternatives, or what would be the precise relative strength of the two parties, I hesitate not to assert, that *many*, and I hope very many, would rejoice in the removal of slavery, when it can be accomplished, as one of the greatest temporal, and in some points of view, spiritual blessings, which a kind Providence could confer upon us. And I am not without hope, that if the present discussion of the subject is continued by good men with a proper spirit, the statement I have ventured to make will be more and more verified.

"Philo," I find, is just as decided against *immediate emancipation*, as any Southern man can be, and in this he is far from being alone; even as a Northern writer. "A Carolinian," as I have already shown, has most sadly mistaken Vigornius, in representing him as the advocate of immediate emancipation; nor do I believe he will find such an advocate in any Northern writer on the subject, if he would read with calmness and attention.

"Philo," very properly wishes the slaves to be instructed, and thus prepared and qualified to enjoy freedom. He wishes his Southern brethren to "engage in a series of prospective measures, which shall tend to fit the negro to be free." So far as individuals are concerned, I believe in some degree (far too small to be sure) not a few owners of slaves are giving them, or putting them in a way of obtaining, much more religious instruction, than they formerly had access to—a number are teaching them to read at home—a number send them to Sabbath Schools, for this purpose in part,—and I cannot but believe that, notwithstanding the iniquitous legislation, which has taken place in some States, the number of persons is increasing, who feel that on this subject they "ought to obey God rather than man;" and that, in more than one place, the following statement will soon be found true, if in more than one place it is not true already;—"some pious females were told, that, if they continued teaching the blacks in Sabbath Schools, they would subject themselves to the penalty of the law, which was a fine and whipping on the bare back. They

modestly replied, *we must go on*; and will pay the fine, and if any person can be found to do the whipping, we will endure it." I do not mean to say, that the specific motive in teaching the blacks to read is their emancipation. The motive is, to discharge towards them an important Christian duty, to give them access to the holy volume, and to improve their character, whatever their condition is to be; whether they remain slaves, or become free.

Another fact of interest, which I have lately met with as existing in a slave-holding State, is the following,—which shows, that not only insulated individuals, but associations are aiming at the ultimate emancipation of the children of bondage. "The Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, have determined to inquire out, and promote the election of candidates to the Legislature, who will pass a law for the gradual extinguishment of slavery in that State." The recent emancipations also, with a view to the removal of the emancipated to Hayti or to the colony at Mesurado in Africa, give similar indications of the progress of public sentiment and feeling. The noble example of Minge, who liberated and provided otherwise for 88, and several other cases of less notoriety, are important specimens of a spirit and practice which must increase.

But when "Philo" goes on to ask his Southern brethren "to *make laws* to meliorate the condition of the slave—to encourage enterprise—to diffuse knowledge—to instil moral principle—to facilitate self-emancipation," if we are to judge of future from past feelings and acts of slave-holding legislatures, I fear the case is nearly a hopeless one. When I consider the fate of a proposition, made not long since by the legislature of Ohio to some of our Southern legislatures, a proposition couched, if I mistake not, in very modest and respectful terms, and containing nothing offensive in matter or manner—when I recollect further the spirit, with which a proposal equally reasonable and unexceptionable, made by Mr. KING in the Senate of the United States, was viewed by some members from slave-holding States, and the disposal that was made of it at that session at least, I confess I am far from being sanguine in my expectations from legislating men, unless their constituents speak in language something like that of the Anti-Slavery Society in Maryland, already mentioned in this communication. And my fear is, that the slave-holding community at large are too acquiescent in the deeds of their legislatures to bring about any very important change at present, unless they are brought to identify more their own guilt with the guilt of legislators of their own appointment; and to feel more, that if an iniquitous course is pursued, or a correct course rejected by "the powers that be," Providence, in the punishments it sends, will identify the constituents with the constituted. I wish the former would lay to heart as a practical maxim of great importance on

this subject, the words of Horace, "*Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*" For the present, I apprehend all the appeals of "Philo" and his co-adjutors must be made to *the people*; if peradventure, they may so change the materials of which their legislatures are composed, as to bring about the result desired. Southern legislatures latterly, some of them at least, instead of making progress in this business, have been absolutely undoing the deeds of former days. *Formerly*, emancipation was unrestrained—the master was left at liberty to manumit, no other security being required of him, than what would go to establish the physical and moral competency of the manumitted individual, to maintain himself. *Now*, from an apprehension of danger from the increase of free colored persons, an express act of the legislature is required in each case.

While on this subject, permit me to bring to the view of your readers, for their deliberate consideration, the following plan for the emancipation of slaves, from Mr. Schoolcrafts' work entitled "*Travels in the valley of the Mississippi.*"

A New Plan for the Emancipation of Slaves.

"We lay it down as a principle, that whatever a slave earns above the full cost of his maintenance, is procured by the alternate effect of stripes and rewards, operating through a system of judicious tasks. And we think it further capable of demonstration, that more labour is to be gained by the latter method than by the former. The excitement of a spirit of industry, by allowing the blacks a portion of time to themselves, by giving them work to perform, if they choose, and paying them for it the moment it is finished, is no less profitable to the master than to the slave. It also insures the punctual performance of their daily tasks, as they do not begin to work for themselves until, they have finished what their duty requires to their master. To perfect, then, this system of tasks and rewards, which, in some degree, is now in full operation on every well conducted plantation in America;—to render the former as little onerous to the slave as may be, and to make the latter a bare equivalent for the work performed; and to fund the avails of this extra labour in such a manner, as to make it applicable to the purchase of the slave's freedom, is, as we think, the important desideratum in the emancipation of the blacks. We will illustrate our views by the following proposition: Every profitable slave, under the strong excitement of a money reward, will complete his task one, two, three, or four hours before the usual time of quitting the field or the work-shop. Let him receive a proper compensation for his extra work. But lest he should make an improper use of the money, or spend it in riotous or luxurious living, let every planter establish a Saving Institution, Plantation Bank or Depository, for the express use

of his slaves, in which two-thirds of the avails of all extra labour shall be deposited by the slaves at proper times ; and let it be optional with him to fund the remaining third, or to receive it in checks on a plantation store,—which checks shall have no currency off the limits of the estate. In this way, more work will be done than it is possible in the ordinary mode to procure, and the produce of the plantation, the work-shop, or the mine, will be enhanced in ratio corresponding to the whole annual amount paid in rewards. And thus the proprietor, while he enjoys the noble pleasure of promoting the happiness and emancipation of his bondmen, has, at the same time, the additional satisfaction of knowing that he is pursuing the best means for improving his own fortune.

“We will suppose such a slave as we have been considering, to be worth, in the present depressed state of commerce, six hundred dollars. When his earnings, deposited in Bank, amount to one hundred dollars, he shall have the whole of *Monday* free from task, to work entirely for himself. He then has two days in the week, including the Sabbath, at his own disposal ;—this will enable him more rapidly to acquire, by voluntary labour the second hundred dollars, with which he purchases *Tuesday*. He has now three days, two of which are working days, at his own command, and with these two days he purchases *Wednesday*, and so on, in a progressive ratio, until the whole six days are his own, and he is free ! He will enter society with habits of industry and temperance, which are calculated to render him a valuable citizen ; and we will venture to assert, that any slave, who is not possessed of sufficient mental energy and firmness to submit to this preparatory discipline, cannot be qualified for, and is scarcely entitled to the enjoyment of civil liberty.”

If the foregoing plan appear judicious and feasible, (it is certainly worth an experiment,) and the only objection to it be, the danger of such self-bought slave remaining in the country (though in this case it would seem as if the claim on his gratitude would make him a friend and not a foe,) let the previous stipulated condition be, as soon as he is emancipated, he shall remove to Hayti, or to the American Colony on the coast of Africa, where he cannot do otherwise than become in every point of view a valuable acquisition.

In some part of Bryon Edwards' work on the West Indies, which I read a few years ago, if I mistake not he states, that in one of those Islands, I now forget which, a planter is obliged by law to permit every slave to purchase his own freedom, and that at a reasonable rate ; who, by his industry in extra hours and by his economy, has made or saved a sufficient sum for this purpose. Would not some regulation of this kind in every slaveholding community in the United States, be admirably calculated

to do good ! Would it not, among other good purposes, serve to ascertain who among the slaves would deserve freedom, and be likely to make a good use of it ?

“ Philo ” urges “ that plans be formed, and measures of operation adopted *without delay* ”—and so says Scripture and conscience, and the present state of the world. So say our growing dangers ; so says the independence of Hayti, the progress and the prospects of the American as well as English Colony in Africa—so say late transactions in South America,*—so says Bolivar,†—so says the continuance of that horrible traffic, the slave-trade, which seems determined not to die but with the death of slavery itself,—so say the strong and determined measures taken in the British Parliament and by the British nation ; so, in one word, says the whole present aspect of the Providence of God. With one voice they warn against any *farther delay*, and call to immediate effort in some way or other.

“ Philo,” in vindicating himself and his Northern friends from the charge of unwarrantable interference, so strongly and so frequently urged against them by their Southern brethren, says, “ It is a subject in which we feel deeply, and have a right so to feel.” Yes, they have right, and who dare deny it to them—they have a right to feel, as Americans, the obviously glaring contradiction between the fact of perpetuated, interminable slavery, and the very first principles contained in the nation’s “ Declaration of Independence,” which is read publicly every year throughout our land. They have a right to feel, as parents, whose children may settle, for aught they know to the contrary, far away in some slave-holding State. They have a right to feel, on a variety of other accounts, which we have not now time to detail, but which must be obvious to every candid and reflecting mind. And he disavows for himself and those concerned with him, all disposition to take the lead in this business. They wish to fall in as secondaries and subordinates : they “ wish most heartily that their Southern brethren would go *forward*,” and let them take “ their proper place of subsidiaries in the great national work, and would gladly avail themselves of the advice of those, who, from their circumstances and experience, are so well able to give it.”

And now, it remains for “ a Carolinian ” to disentangle him from his embarrassments, when he assigns as his reason for not “ defending any of the leading positions taken by either of the writers on whom “ a Carolinian ” has remarked, that “ their reasoning has not, as yet, been shown to be fallacious,” that

* The new republics, if I mistake not, have abolished, or at least taken determined measures to abolish slavery,—the young republic of Colombia, in particular.

† Bolivar is stated to have emancipated his own slaves, to the number, if I mistake not, of several hundred. (See *Christian Spectator* Vol. 5. p. 439.)

"there is nothing but assertion," "that it would be difficult to say where to begin or what method to take to illustrate them;" (the propositions of Vigornius and S. F. D.) "until we know in what way they will be attacked." Either the "Carolinian" or some other is bound to answer the following very simple and reasonable questions; "Do they (the people of the South) wish to have *any thing* done towards the abolition of slavery?" "Do they wish to have it done as *speedily* as possible?" "Do they believe that any thing *can* be done?" "We desire to learn from our Southern brethren themselves, what their creed on the slave system is." All the questions proposed, I and those who think with me, (I trust the number is not small, and that it will continually increase, the more the subject is discussed) are prepared at once to answer in the affirmative. Our creed on the subject of slavery has been in part developed in this and preceding communications, and will be still farther disclosed in future numbers.

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. V.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, October 28, 1826.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—My last communication grew out of "Philo's" piece, and was chiefly occupied with matters suggested by his queries, remarks, &c. My intention at present is, to take a brief review of the numbers of "Vigornius," to approve what deserves approbation, to modifying what may seem to need qualification, to question positions, that may not appear well established, to censure or at least to disapprove statements, that may be erroneous, to solicit further light on topics, that may have been only touched and but imperfectly handled; and thus to continue and protract the discussion, until the merits of the controversy are thoroughly sifted, and truth and duty on every important point at issue clearly ascertained.

In No. 1 "Vigornius" has "exhibited a rapid outline of the origin and progress of slavery." In this outline he has shown, that the materials out of which slavery was fabricated, were "captives taken in war," and "children sold by their parents" for that purpose. He finds the early and general prevalence of slavery, in the facts of the sale of Joseph to the Ishmaelites, the servitude of the Israelites in Egypt, and the system of slave-holding among the Jews themselves in Palestine. By a mutual general understanding among ancient nations, it was regarded lawful to make slaves of prisoners of war, as the modern mode of an exchange of prisoners was unknown. He has also shown us, that

slavery was even then, when the principles of modern liberty were so little understood, "a bitter draught,"—so bitter, that those in bondage frequently broke their chains on the heads of their oppressors. He finds the Romans to have been the most gentle and generous slave-owners among the ancient pagans. Descending to a later period, he finds the Portuguese to be "the first among the people of Europe," who laid the foundation of that detestable system, which (hear, O Heavens, and be astonished, O earth!) progressed even with the progress of the reformation, and in which *Christian Europe* has taken so signal and scandalous a part.

In looking at even this "rapid outline," which "Vigornius" has given us, "of the rise and progress of slavery," how much is there to make the faces of European and American Christians put on their deepest blush! Is it true, that "the *hope of manumission* was never denied (even) to Roman slaves?" Where shall Carolinians, and Virginians, and Georgians, &c. appear, when it is stated as a solemn fact, that no certain *hope of manumission* was ever held out to those whom they hold in bondage? The caprice, the generosity, the conscience, or the gratitude of a master, has sometimes induced him to liberate his slave: but it was left entirely to his pleasure whether and when to liberate. No legislature has even been so much the friend of the Southern slave, as to *secure* his emancipation, without the consent of his owner, however much he may have deserved this distinction. Though by his honesty and integrity, he may have merited his liberty, and by his industry secured enough to purchase it, he has not in any instance been able to obtain it without the *fiat* of his master. The Roman slaves, says "Vigornius" "were educated in the liberal arts;" "slaves were the instructors of the Roman youth." Who has ever "heard even by the hearing of the ear,"—much more, who has ever seen,—such privileges allowed to American slaves? Alas! there is a tremendous itching, even now, among too many, to prevent their even learning to read. Where is the Southern slave to whose lot it has ever been *permitted* to fall, "to enlighten and adorn some of the proudest ages of classical literature?" When certain great men at the South exclaimed,* that Athens, and Sparta, and Rome had slaves, and

* The London Christian Observer, in commenting on this language of a Georgia Committee, says, "that is, we like them will be heathens and not Christians: professed imitators of three States, the first of which was one of the most profligately licentious—the second, the most barbarous, brutal, and inhuman—the third, the most unjust, tyrannical, and sanguinary, of all whose names and atrocities have blotted the page of history."

(Christian Observer, for July 1825.)

Note by the Editors. Comparing the above from the Christian Observer with the language of Vigornius relative to the privileges of Roman Slaves—both of which we believe to be tolerably correct—it will be necessary to recol-

added "we will have them," would it not be well for them to inquire, whether their slaves are not in a tenfold degree more degraded, than the slaves of those *pagan* nations were. "O shame, where is thy blush?"

It appears from "Vigornius'" statements, that there was no small "kicking against the pricks" in the consciences of some of those European monarchs, who commenced and carried on this infernal traffic between Africa and our Western continent; and Louis XIIIth was prevented from emancipating "all slaves in his dominions by the humane assurance, that the introduction of slaves into his colonies was the readiest way of *converting them to Christianity*." Well would it have been for our fathers, who brought this curse upon us, and for ourselves who have retained it, could they and we—could they *or* we—say, that to christianize them was our *leading* motive, *or* that it was our motive *at all*. We have reason indeed to be very thankful, that God has in many instances "made the wrath," and cruelty, and avarice of man "to praise him," and that thousands of slaves have been brought "into the glorious liberty of the children of God." But this has been in many instances rather in spite of us,—in many more, independently of us;—than in answer to our prayers, in remuneration of our efforts, and in concurrence with our own plans. Some of them have *happened* to live in the neighbourhood of a Christian church, and thus had opportunity to hear "the words of eternal life." But when or where was the gospel ever *expressly and designedly* carried to them? Legislatures have laid taxes upon owners, according to the number of their slaves; but it was for civil, political, commercial purposes; never, no never, that the blessings of the gospel might be brought to their cabins. Never, no never, even have Christian owners acted together and in a body, for the spiritual good of their slaves. Individuals, as such, have in many instances, done much, and would have done more, had not the sinful "fear of man brought a snare" upon them;—had they not been deterred by the frowns of their ungodly neighbours. I know upon creditable authority, of a good man, whose anxieties to the day of his death, were deep and strong on this subject, who was in the habit of assembling his slaves every Sabbath, who was desirous to have the gospel preached to them, who said, he would give \$500 a year (if I mistake not) to have regular preaching performed among them; but who, with all this conviction, and all this desire, did nothing, *merely* because the measure was excessively unpopular among his neighbours. I have heard, upon testimony entitled to equal credit, that when tickets of permission have been given by a pious man to his own slaves to attend the instructions of an excellent minister at his own house,

lect the policy of the Romans towards those whom they chose to call their enemies, compared with their policy towards the same people when sufficiently humbled to satisfy their pride.

as soon as those slaves have been found off their Master's premises, their tickets, which should have been their protection, have been taken from them, and they have been scourged in sight of the minister and in his presence. These indeed are tales (in some respects) of other times. Yet the day is not very remote, when these things were done, nay the former fact is quite recent. Yes, Messrs. Editors, the gospel has proved "the wisdom and power of God to salvation" to a multitude of slaves: but no thanks for it are due to many of us, who make this plea in justification of slavery. It has been a merely incidental affair. And for one (taking the slave-region generally) that enjoys the privileges of the sanctuary, I think I am not mistaken, when I say that there are 20 or 30, perhaps more, who, if they were in the very heart of Africa, would enjoy as much evangelical light as now shines upon them.

"Vigornius" has touched upon another thought, which is of importance in discussing the justifiableness of slavery. Some of us are in the habit of saying, that, in bringing Africans to this country, and dooming them to perpetual servitude, we only continue them in a condition, in which they were found at home; for they were slaves there. But how came they to be slaves at home?—they were prisoners of war. And "whence came wars and fightings among" them? Even from European and American "lusts, that warred in their members;" that furnished the main-spring and motive of African broils. The cupidity and the avarice of *Christian* nations, kindled the flames that incinerated the villages of Africa; sharpened the sword, that drank the blood of her sons, and forged the chains, that qualified them for transportation westward. "When it became difficult to meet the demand for slaves, they (viz. the Portuguese, O that they had stood alone!) were guilty of the most execrable expedients, to induce the peaceful tribes to make war upon each other, and sell the captives." And is not this the shameful and horrible fact *still*, in relation to the slave trade. "I pause for a reply." I have done for the present with "Vigornius?" 1st number.

He commences his 2d, by saying, that "no efforts have yet been able to effect a suppression of the African slave-trade. So long as a demand for slaves exists, this odious commerce in human flesh will continue, in defiance of law, danger, and death." I was inclined once to draw a broader line of distinction between the slave-trade and slavery, than subsequent deeper and more mature reflection on the subject seems to me to justify. There are many, who will raise a loud and long out-cry against the slave-trade, who are considerably passive under the existence and pressure of slavery, and who, if they could be brought to see much of an intimate connexion between the two, or to think that they stand and fall together, would be anxious to devise ways and

means to remedy, and in due time remove existing evils, as well prevent their continuance and their spread. It appears, that both the legislature and people of Great Britain have been recently roused to a consideration of this subject. They have seemed to see the futility of all attempts to abolish the slave-trade, while slavery itself exists. They perceive that they have made little or no progress, either in arresting the detestable traffic, or in meliorating the miseries of slavery in their West India Islands; and they have now taken hold of the subject with a vigor that seems to predict the speedy downfall of both. In a very energetic pamphlet, supposed to be written by a lady in England, it is said, that "when the (slave) trade was abolished by the British legislature, it was too readily concluded, that the abolition of slavery in the British Dominions, would have been an inevitable consequence." She, it is to be observed, contends for "immediate, not gradual abolition." (This is the title of the pamphlet) "The slave-holder knew very well, that his prey would be secure, so long as the abolitionists could be cajoled into a demand for *gradual*, instead of *immediate* abolition. He knew very well that the contemplation of a *gradual* emancipation, would beget a gradual indifference to *emancipation itself*. He knew very well, that even the *wise* and the *good*, may, by habit and familiarity, be brought to endure and tolerate almost any thing." "The ameliorating measures *recommended* by Parliament," she adds, "to the colonial legislatures, are neglected and spurned." The arguments she employs for immediate, instead of remote or gradual abolition, (of their correctness I may speak in some future number) appear to me to apply to the extirpation of slavery, either sooner or later, as the most efficient, perhaps the only deadly stroke to the slave-trade. We have reason to fear, this trade, to some considerable extent, will exist and thrive while slavery exists, unless the whole Western coast of Africa can be lined with cruisers to suppress it, and unless all nations unite in its suppression. One is alarmed, to see how little has yet been done; it can scarcely be said to be checked. As far as slavery is connected with the slave-trade, those who hold the latter in deep abhorrence, should do every thing practicable to shake off the former.

"Vigornius" in his 2nd number, discusses at some length, the pleas in vindication of slavery, professed to be founded on, or drawn from the Scriptures. And I think with him, that the very pivot, upon which this whole question turns, is that celebrated law of love, that "golden rule," to "do unto others as you would be done by." It is true, that Paul in his precepts to master and slave, has recognised the fact, that slavery existed; has recognised and has enjoined the mutual duties of the correspondent relations. But a variety of circumstances, appertaining to the age and country in which Paul and his cotemporaries lived, and the

inconceivably different circumstances of our age and nation, are to be taken into consideration, in drawing conclusions respecting *our* rights and duties. We must know how men in those days came to be slaves, how they were treated in their servitude, what were their privileges, and what their deprivations, how far slavery was a national and civil concern; what would have been the effect, when Paganism was on the throne, to have introduced or attempted material alterations in the relations of human life—the humble state of the Christian church, and its entire disseverance from all the concerns of government. Unless, with all this endless variety of circumstances in mind, we bring the question of slavery to the test of the golden rule above introduced, I fear we shall find our argument work too far, cover too much ground, entirely condemn some things which we, as Americans, have done, and in having done which, we glory. How else shall we justify any Christian, who bore arms in the revolutionary war? How justify those ministers, who carried the concerns of the Revolution into their sermons and prayers? Was Paul any more explicit in the precepts he gave to servants, than in the injunctions he laid on subjects? Did not he who said, “Servants be obedient to them, that are your masters according to the flesh,” say also, “let every soul be subject unto the higher powers—the powers that be are ordained of God?” How can any Christian vindicate slavery by the word of God, and not condemn, upon the same principles and by the same reasoning, the Declaration of American Independence? Were not the king and parliament of Great Britain “the higher powers,” “ordained of God,” to which the Christian colonies in America were commanded to “be in subjection?” By whatever argument conscientious revolutionists rid themselves of these precepts, slaves themselves and the advocates of emancipation can relieve themselves from censure in the desire of freedom. And more especially is this the case, if it be found on examination, that slaves are *more* oppressed, *more* deprived of their rights, especially their religious privileges, *more* cut off from the means of serving and obeying God, than the Christian subjects of Great Britain were, when they threw off the yoke. Until these cases are shown by “a Carolinian” or some other writer, (an enterprise I have not yet seen undertaken) to be radically dissimilar, I agree with “Vigornius,” that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is unlawful and unscriptural—that “if the slave may be made free,” he ought to “choose it rather;” and that it is our duty, and our interest, to liberate them, as soon as it can be done with safety to ourselves and with benefit to them—as soon as the voice of Providence says, “this is the way, walk in it.”

Bringing then this subject to the test of the *golden rule*, I ask, whether in this thing, we are “doing as we would be done by.”

After all that can be said, and said with truth, (as I know in many instances is the case,) about their comfortable provision, their moderate labour, their freedom from anxieties and cares, that corrode their masters' hearts—their affection to their owners, and their owners' tender and paternal regard to them—their religious privileges;—in the cases in which these are most extensively allowed, would *we* be willing to be enslaved ourselves, provided we could enjoy, in our servitude, all these blessings? If we should propose to the poorest white member of the community, who scarcely knows after one meal, where to look for the next, that if he will be our slave, we will supply him with all these comforts, what would be the answer in each case? Would it not be a decided *No*. I have yet to learn whence the right is derived of making a man happy, without his consent and against his will. I know not, that I can add any thing very material more to the reasonings, the remarks, and the conclusions of your correspondent on this subject, in his second number; and shall therefore, instead of enlarging farther on this topic, recommend to "a Carolinian" and all who are like minded with him, an attentive perusal, or if he or they have read it already, an attentive reperusal of said 2nd number. If they can dislodge "Vigornius" from his position, I hope they will do so; if not, that they will yield to their honest convictions, and unite for the gradual, and *if* at all practicable, the immediate abolition of slavery, with

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. VI.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Nov. 4, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—I have in former communications acknowledged the desultory character of my remarks. Nor have I promised, nor do I now engage, to pursue any prescribed course. The interference of my constant and pressing avocations, and occasional seasons of absence from home, compel me to take up my pen in such fragments of time, as I can now and then redeem from other claims upon it. The particular topics, descanted on in each number, will in a great measure grow out of circumstances, that may arise, to throw the current of my thoughts into one channel rather than another.

In my last I took up the pieces of "Vigornius," intending to remark in succession on such important particulars in each of them, as might seem to require animadversion, either in the way of approval or disapprobation. Before I renew attention to those numbers, I have deemed it of some consequence to notice another communication in the *Christian Spectator*, which has fallen in my way, since my own No. 5 was written, and which appears to pre-

sent the subject under discussion in a light well worthy the attention of both your Northern and Southern readers :—of the former, that they may handle this topic in a way least calculated to excite the prejudices and irritate the feelings of the Southern slave-holder ; and of the latter, that they may admit it possible at least, that Northern advocates of emancipation are conscientious in their opposition to the slave-holding system, and are willing to do all they consistently can, to conciliate the feelings of those against whose temporal interests they may appear to be arrayed.

It gives me satisfaction to be able to express the opinion, that Northern men are looking at slavery, and writing respecting it, with other views and other feelings, than those which characterized their discussions on this subject a few years ago. While they are as decided as ever in their opposition to slavery, and denounce it with as much vehemence as ever, as equally at war with the benevolent precepts of our holy religion, and the fundamental principles of our free Republic, they appear disposed to make greater allowances than formerly, for the feelings, and habits, and expressions of Southern men, who have from childhood breathed a different atmosphere from themselves. They appear to view slavery, as it exists in our country, more in the light of an American, than a Southern sin and misery. They call as loudly on the “ North to give up,” as on “ the South to keep not back.”

The article in the Christian Spectator, to which I have now a more special reference, is in the August number of the present year, (1825.) It is entitled, “ Thoughts on the discussion of Slavery.” While the writer seems to take it for granted, that involuntary slavery, without any crime in him who is the subject of it, to justify his being held in bondage, is wrong ; he admits that those who from their birth have been accustomed to see slaves around them, and to hold them, and to hear no discussion on the subject, and no condemnation of it, must from habit and from inattention, have a much feebler impression of its guilt, than those who have never breathed any other air, than the atmosphere of liberty. He conceives “ that a point is presented, where the slave-holder might be addressed without creating a sense of intentional injury.” “ We should go back one step,” says he, “ and labour to make him entertain the same views and feelings in regard to the *natural rights* of the slave, that we do.” “ For this purpose,” he goes on, “ let him be addressed on the *principle* of slavery, rather than on its *effects* and the *particular laws for governing the slaves*. Let the friends of Africa discuss this subject ably and fully at the South, in every way calculated to influence public opinion, so that if possible, this may assume as decided a tone there in opposition to the principle of slavery, as it does here. Let men go among the planters with the spirit and

power of Clarkson, and becoming intimately acquainted with their feelings and prejudices, aim at the vulnerable point repeated strokes, which shall thoroughly convict them without exciting personal animosity or sectional jealousy."

This, Messrs. Editors, is a valuable recommendation, and the appearance of it in this quotation in your paper, which circulates I believe, considerably in many parts of the slave-holding States, will, I trust, stimulate "the friends of Africa at the South," to perform a long-neglected duty,—a duty, which it is to be hoped, has been overlooked rather through inconsideration, than by design. A discussion of this nature, however important in itself, I apprehend could hardly be carried on in any of our public journals at the South. No Editor probably, would be found sufficiently independent, whatever might be his conviction of its propriety in other respects, to risk his popularity and the loss of some, perhaps many of his customers, by inserting communications of this description. And even if it were practicable, it might not, in our state of things, be prudent. Shall ministers introduce and enlarge upon such topics in their pulpits? As topics, in which morality and religion are both immediately and remotely concerned, they seem to come very naturally and very fully within the compass of their holy and high commission. Still, as slavery is in part an affair of civil regulation by the State, as well as a matter of conscience between every slave-holder and his God, the aspect of the subject in a civil and political respect, might appear such even to a man of tender conscience and possessed of the boldness of a lion, where the path of duty is unexceptionably clear, as that he might not on the whole, think it his duty in this way to enlighten, impress, and urge his hearers.

About 20 years ago perhaps, a very intelligent, worthy, and exemplary minister of the gospel, beloved by his people, and respected by the world, in the interior of Carolina, (as I have been informed) preached frequently, to a greater or less extent, on the topic of slavery, on its contrariety to the principles and precepts of the gospel. He did this conscientiously, and therefore determined to continue doing it, whatever the result to himself might be. The result however was, his separation from the people of his charge, and removal to some Western non-slave-holding State, (I think Ohio.) Since the period when he "lifted up his voice with strength," and was not afraid to "show to God's people their transgressions and to the house of Jacob their sins," so great a change has taken place in public feeling and opinion, that a similar course of proceeding might possibly now lead to a different result. At all events, the plan suggested by "S. H." of "going among the planters with the spirit and power of Clarkson," &c. appears perfectly unobjectionable. And would it not be well for different ecclesiastical bodies, viz. the Synods of the

Presbyterian Church, the Associations of the Baptist Church, the Conferences of the Methodist Church, and wherever Episcopacy is found to exist, the Conventions of the Episcopal Church, in all the slave-holding States, to take this subject into serious and deliberate consideration—appoint Committees to investigate it thoroughly,—and bring in a carefully digested report. If these denominations, after having deliberated and acted separately on this matter, and especially, if conducted by their respective investigations to the same or nearly the same result, would have a joint and general meeting of Committees from each, some plan of operation and co-operation might be devised, and set in motion for a speedy accomplishment of whatever the Word, and Spirit, and Providence of God might decide to be duty. Such a consultation and co-operation of Christian men and Christian Bodies of men, might effect, and in a comparatively short time too, a multitude of desirable results, on a subject of vital interest to the church and to the nation, which never can be arrived at, while they keep apart, and groan and sigh over evils under the pretext, that they are irremediable.

I would now take up my subject at the point where I left it, at the conclusion of my former number. I was there demolishing briefly some of the props of slavery, which the advocates of the system professed to derive from the Scriptures. Before that article is entirely dispatched (for I do not conceive that much needs to be said on it in addition to what “Vigornius” has said,) I would ask, how far the slavery spoken of in the Scriptures is like the slavery in the West Indies and the United States? and whether any parallel can be run between them? Do our laws make such protection and provision for the slave, as the Jewish law did? When a Southern or West Indian slave has his eye or his tooth struck out by passion or by casualty on the part of his master, is that master bound by the law of the land, as the Jew was by the Mosaic law, to let such maimed slave go free for his eye or his tooth’s sake? “I trow not.” Rather may he not, if he please, dislodge the other eye, or demolish another tooth, and still retain the victim of his cruelty or his carelessness in as rigorous subjection as ever? In those parts of the slave-holding region, in which the gospel has long had an opportunity of exerting its civilizing, humanizing, and meliorating influences, such a Nero may be frowned on by his neighbours, and disadvantageously *talked about* by them; but I am much mistaken, if there is *any law*, under the protecting wing of which the poor slave in such a case can find any refuge. And in other portions of slave country (and I apprehend there are not a few of this description) where gospel institutions have had no long nor firm footing, the perpetrator of so foul a deed will not have to encounter even the displeasure of his neighbours.

Again, while the Jew was permitted to make "hewers of wood and drawers of water," (i. e. to reduce them to slavery) of heathen captives taken in war, if he fancied to take any one of them to wife, he was at liberty to do so; but, should he afterwards repudiate her, he was compelled to set her free; he was debarred from selling her into slavery.) (See Deut. 21: 10—14.) I ask again of the *Christian* advocate of slavery, (and I blush while I put such uncongenial words together) whether he discerns any such feature as this in the system of West Indian or Southern slavery. What law compels a man to liberate, or interdicts him from selling his female slave whom he has humbled? Such a law never was, and I apprehend never will be, in the code. Southern plantations are sometimes populated in part, in the manner above alluded to; and the owner of his wide domain sees in the tillers of his ground or the drivers of his carriage, persons who stand towards him in the two-fold relation of *sons and slaves*. I have occasionally heard of owners, from caprice, from humanity, from a sense of justice, or peradventure from twinges of conscience, dissolving in behalf of progeny the latter of these relations, while at the same time ashamed of the former: but not an instance has occurred of the liberation of such a child of misfortune by the just or even the merciful interposition of the law.

To another characteristic of dissonance and dissimilarity between the slavery related in the Bible and that exercised in modern Christendom, I will now advert. Bible slaves were often found clad in armour. Abraham, who had slaves that were "bought with his money," armed three hundred and eighteen, and went in pursuit of the capturers of Lot; and for any thing that appears to the contrary on "the records," arms were, or might be, as common in their hands as in the hands of their masters. Esau had 400 in his train. But, in slave-holding regions it is made a crime for a slave to be found in arms. The law will hardly allow him a fowling-piece in his cabin, wherewith to furnish a supply of wild-fowl for his master's table. No! these "arms" must be found exclusively in the hands of those, who, by their own confession, have "exhausted their arguments." I have been able to see nothing in the characteristics and circumstances of Bible-slavery, to accord with many things that are regarded as *fundamental ingredients* in United States slavery—nothing in the former, of that jealousy and dread, that hauteur and distance on the one hand, and that cringing ignorance and degradation on the other, which have ever been inseparable from the latter. In the one I seem to see confidence, and concord, and content, and a recognition of common interests; in the other, distrust and apprehension, discontent, variance, and a conflict of interests, are but too visible. In the former I behold *rights* acknowledged as appertaining to *both sides*; and these rights defined and defended by

specific legislation ; in the latter, as far as law is concerned, there is a recognition of rights only on one side ; wrongs and a requirement of submission to them, are the almost exclusive portion of the other.

I have not been able to discover a particle of evidence, that the slaves, which God at any time permitted his people to hold, were required or expected to be kept in intense and interminable ignorance, as is the wish and practice of too many, quite too many slave-holders, in this blessed land of republican liberty ; nor do I read in the Bible, that such ignorance and mental degradation were ever regarded as absolutely essential to obedience and submission, which is the popular doctrine with multitudes in this region of light and liberty. Nor do I find the slaves recognized in Scripture, ever spoken of by such contemptuous and contemptible epithets, as are attached to them by universal consent and practice in those *Christian* countries, in which they are now found to exist. "To be sold at such a place, and on such a day a very prime *gang** of slaves," is an advertisement, which I presume, was never issued by any of the patriarchs or other good men in Bible story, however common in the West-Indies or the slave-holding states of North America.

I have been considerably, at once amused and disgusted, at the use of the figure called by rhetoricians, I think *catathresis*, by the Committee of the Georgia legislature in reference to this subject. "In the simplicity," say they, "of patriarchal government, we would remain master and servant under our own vine and fig tree." How much modern and Christian slavery resembles this "simplicity of patriarchal government" vaunted of here, must be apparent from the contrast, in which the two have been already placed, and will farther appear before we have done with this discussion. The following remarks from the July number of the "Christian Observer" are so appropriate, that I make no apology for introducing them in this connexion. "A most suicidal allusion ; see the passage Micah 4. 4, which describes a scene of peace and humanity, when swords shall become plough-shares, and "*every man*," slaves as well as others, shall sit down under his *own* vine and fig-tree, "*none daring to make him afraid*." Where the Committee go on to say, "and confide for safety upon Him who of old time looked down upon this state of things without wrath," the Christian Observer comments thus : "A palpable misstatement, for the Bible is full of denunciations against this and every species of oppression ; and it is expressly said, (Jer. 34. 17) in,

* Is it not time for *Christians* at least, at the South, to discontinue this vile epithet and use some other ?

† "Are the Committee then, after all," (says the Christian Observer.) "secretly ashamed of the odious sound of SLAVE."

reference to this very subject, "Thus saith the Lord, Because ye have not harkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor, behold I will proclaim liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." So far from the Almighty "looking down upon this state of things without wrath," he provided means for its instant amelioration, and for its ultimate extinction, under the influence of our mild and holy religion—the most perfect contrast to the codes of "Athens, and Sparta, and Rome." The allusion to the patriarchal ages is quite absurd: there is something far more like it among the "savage Indians" with whom the Georgians are at perpetual war, than among themselves; but whatever it might be, it was at least such a system of comparative mildness and mutual confidence, that the master felt no scruple in putting arms into the hands of his "slave;" and in some instances, under the ancient slave system, he even gave his daughter in marriage to his slave. (See for example, 1 Chron. 11: 34, 35.) Is any thing like this the state of things in the South-western parts of the Union, or in the British slave colonies? Would the *patriarchs* of our plantations feel secure in the volunteer arms of their *primeval* servants against an army of freemen?" (Ch. Observer, for July, N. Y. Edition.)

I would add here, what I apprehend to be a still farther instance of essential deviation in *our* slave-holding system from any mentioned in the Bible, that in the former, the oath of a thousand slaves is never recognized as of any weight, in testimony against a freeman. I ask, in what article of the moral or political code of the Jews, such an enactment is to be met with. Every written law on the records of the Bible, will be found to reply with unanimous consent, "It is not in me."

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. VII.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Nov, 11, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—My last closed with a summary exhibiton of the unscriptural character of slavery, as it is found to exist in the West Indies and in the United States; and I laboured to point out various specific and essential characteristics of dissimilarity between the system as it exists in our country, and as it existed by command or by permission, in the church and among the people of God.

Having disposed of that branch of the subject, very little, it would seem need be said in proof of the entire contrariety, the

diametrical opposition between slavery and the principles upon which the American government professes to be founded, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence. That instrument expressly enumerates *liberty*, as, among other constituents, one of the unalienable rights of *all mankind*. At first sight it appears utterly inexplicable, that the natural rights of the American negro should not have come within the purview of those, who, with so much ability, good sense, and feeling, drew up that interesting document; and that it should have been still farther totally overlooked by the statesmen of the country in Congress assembled. But it appears practicable to account for the omission *at that time*, by considering how much the delegates from the different colonies had to accomplish—how they were surrounded with difficulties, beset with dangers, and struggling for national existence. They had enough on their hands to lay all the energies of body, mind, and heart, under contribution; and the adjustment of the rights of the American slave was, under the circumstances then existing, too delicate, and difficult, and intricate a business, to be despatched with facility or with speed. These considerations seem rationally to account for the oversight of the slave question, at the time *the rights of man* were undergoing argument and adjustment. We could not then be expected to do, as the South American Republics have recently done,—emancipate the slaves,—and thus act consistently. They had got through their struggle; and their fears were over. We were at the commencement of ours, and knew not then how it would terminate.

But after North American Independence was not only declared but established, and the tumult of war was visible, and the clangor of arms was audible no more;—when peace spread her wings over the land, and prosperity was following in her train;—when one interesting event after another was transpiring to give solidity to the Republic; and to shed an increase of glory around her;—how, *how* came it to pass, that *even then* the groans of Africa continued, as much as ever before, unheard; and no solitary tongue lifted an appeal in her behalf. Perhaps in part, we may charitably account for this strange and singular omission, from the *comparative* darkness of the age; for much additional light has been since shed upon the rights of man. Perhaps too the national Legislature took it for granted (and as since has appeared, much too readily) that the different states could easily discover, and would readily take speedy preparatory steps to perform an obvious duty,—to save our consistency in particular, as well as our character in general.

Or shall we resort to some other hypothesis to account for this anomaly? This question seems to have considerably perplexed Vigornius; (see No. IV,) and he says, after quoting the “self-ev-

ident truths" to which we have just referred in the Declaration of Independence, "Either the slave was forgotten—or he was not recognized as a human being—or he is an exception to the universal rule—or lastly his right is abrogated or superseded by the paramount right of his master," &c. Vigornius has not told us, which of these four modes of accounting for the singular fact, he is inclined to adopt. As a dweller at the South from my cradle, and from my acquaintance with the state of things there for a score of years and upwards, I am strongly tempted to make choice of the 2d hypothesis to account for this remarkably insulated fact. I cannot think, that the memory of our statesmen was so treacherous, that they "forgot the slave" nor that they regarded him as "an exception to the universal rule," as in that case, I think, they would, in the instrument itself, have *at least alluded to* the exception—nor can I admit, that they regarded the rights of the slave as set aside or "superseded or abrogated by any prior or paramount right of his master." Those who were willing to tug through an eight years' war, rather than be taxed three pence a pound on tea, would never have overlooked the hundred fold more aggravated suffering, and degrading debasement of the sons of Africa in our midst. I am morally compelled then to take up with the *second* hypothesis—the slave "was not recognized as a human being."—The whole history of slavery at the South, as far and as long as I have been acquainted with it (until within a few years, say between 12 and 20, during which there has been a manifest and growing alteration in the conceptions of the whites and in the treatment of the blacks) rivets the conviction, that the slave was not regarded, *strictly speaking*, as a human being; but a sort of mid-link between brute and man—partly belonging to each and wholly to neither. For if the slave was murdered, a *paltry fine* was all the penalty; and that because the murdered individual was *nothing but a negro*. But if the slave was *stolen*, and *property* thus to the amount of several hundred dollars *lost*, then the gallows and the halter appeared in view, as the remuneration of the thief. Nay, I have known, during the period of my life, more, many more than one or two or three cases, in which a dog or a horse was a dearer object to his master, than his slave, and he would be more angry, and more vengeful at an injury done to the former than the latter. Was I not right, Messrs. Editors, in looking at such a fact as this, to infer that a negro cannot be a human being? Again, another fact—a fact I have already alluded to, and one which still exists—confirms my convictions. It is this—the declaration of a hundred negro witnesses, (even though their uniformly good character could be testified by their masters,) to any fact, in which the disadvantage of a white man of *no character* was concerned.

availed, and I believe *now* avails, nothing. Was I not right, in believing that the negro was hardly recognized as a human being? And other facts I might mention of a similar complexion, but I would not be needlessly tedious.

But it is time I should say something to redeem the pledge given at the close of my first number, and this seems a suitable place to introduce something of this kind. In that part of my discussion, I ventured to say, in opposition to the writer in the *Christian Spectator*, on whose pieces I had commenced some remarks, that there was an approximation at least, to acknowledgement of the negro's rights, in the slave-holding states. In some of the slave-holding states, negro-killing has recently been construed as murder: this looks like giving the slave a right to "*life*," though that of "*liberty and the pursuit of happiness*" be still denied him. I have not indeed yet heard of a case under this recent law, in which the penalty of murder has actually overtaken any slave-killer, and I apprehend it would be exceedingly difficult actually to carry into execution this new statute: and especially, if the breach of it was committed by a man of importance and influence in society. I trust however our Northern brethren will not be reluctant, as they in too many instances are, to give us credit for passing such a law. We have rigid laws too against duelling: but while our very legislators are duellists and slave-holders, I hardly dare anticipate the execution of a duellist, a murderer of one description,—or of a negro-killer, a murderer of another kind.

And now what shall we do or say? That slavery, I mean such as it now exists in the United States, is against the Bible, against common sense, against the natural rights of man, against the first principles, the very stamina of our free republic, and against our interests too, (a point indeed, which I have not and shall not discuss, but which has been abundantly demonstrated by abler pens,) if I mistake not is sufficiently obvious. We have within these United States a million and a half, rather near two millions of men, who, if they are not, yet "of right, ought to be free and independent;" whom, according to our Declaration of Independence, "their Creator has endowed with certain unalienable rights." But while it is just, would it be safe, or wise, or benevolent, either to them, or to their owners, to invest them *immediately* with those rights? And if it would not, does not this very important circumstance peremptorily forbid the discharge of this obligation *at present*. "*Salus populi suprema lex.*" Among writers on this subject, I know not that I have met with one, who has advocated immediate emancipation for a moment, professing at the same time his belief, that the above impediments do exist. But I observe a difference of opinion as to the point whether there would be that interference with safety and with happiness to either party,—some maintaining the affirmative, others the negative,—and

I hope both are equally philanthropic in their intentions, though widely differing in their conceptions. The practicability of gradual emancipation no one pretends to doubt; and all throughout the United States, except the selfish and the sordid, the covetous and the tyrannical, I presume, desire it.

Having been occupied in this discussion so much longer than I intended when I began it, I must forego, or at least postpone the examination of this question, as I have still much more to add on other topics, connected with this subject. All I would now say is, that Providence seems to have opened the door for *beginning* to do something, *without further delay*. The Colonization Society, slow at first in its operations, and looked upon with the scowling eye of suspicion, alike at the North and at the South, has been doing its work surely—triumphing over one difficulty, disappointment, and opposition after another, till it can now stamp the seal “*probatum est*,” on its fair and successful experiment.

There is a Colony of free, enlightened, civilized, christianized blacks in Africa, an American Colony—there are in it at least two Christian denominations—there are churches and there are schools—there is protection—there are fortifications and munitions of war, if conflict be still necessary—a handful of these colonists have vanquished a host of natives, who on one occasion rose up against them, and threatened to destroy them. They have selected a healthy and fertile spot—400 colonists are there already—100 more are just ready to embark; if not actually now on their way. This scheme, derided by some, for its visionary character, opposed by others, on one ground by one, for another reason by another, is now (to use Mr. Jefferson’s language,) “in the full tide of successful experiment.” The immediate and ostensible object of this Society, and that which was avowed as its exclusive object, at the commencement of its operations, and of its calls on Christian charity, was, the transfer, with their own consent, of as many of the free blacks in our country (the whole of whom I believe amount to nearly half a million) as provision could be made for. The condition of the free blacks in the Northern and still more in the Middle states, is much less respectable and much more wretched, than that of the same class of persons at the South; nay, than that of very many slaves themselves, who have the happiness to be blessed with good owners. After all that our Northern brethren say of the hardships of Southern slavery, the distance, and hauteur, and tyranny of masters, they have very little cause to “glory over us.” The complexion of a black freeman at the North keeps him at nearly the same distance from the white freeman,—as to social intercourse with them,—as to rights of electing or being elected to office, as to prospect of rising to eminence and distinction,—as to a multitude of other things,—as the complexion and condition both of a colored slave at the South does. The North-

ern free black is not unfrequently more degraded mentally, morally, and physically, than the Southern Slave. So say Courts of Justice and jails.

In one of the numbers (I think) of the *Christian Spectator*, a Captain Otis is said to state, that the colonists (at Liberia) from the country are preferable to those from the cities, and those from the South to those from the North, as being more easily satisfied, more tractable and less averse to labor. Free blacks at the North are as troublesome in some respects, as slaves at the South are in others. The Colonization Society proposes to throw off this burden by degrees, thus relieving the North of a cumbrous and expensive population, and hoping to improve at the same time the character and condition, and increase the usefulness of this population by transplantation. This great and good institution, has had much to encounter, on opposite grounds, from the different latitudes of the United States. With what propriety in each case, I propose to inquire in my next.

HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. VIII.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Dec. 2, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—In my last I introduced to my reader the American Colonization Society, as an institution furnishing the most unexceptionable mode, as well as offering a most resistless motive, for the indulgence of those feelings both of justice and humanity, which the previous discussions were calculated to excite. If to hold our fellow-creatures in involuntary servitude, be a conduct equally at variance with the benevolent spirit of the gospel, and of that declaration of unalienable human rights, upon which, as a sure and strong basis, our republic rests—as soon as we can discern a plan, by the operation of which we can with safety burst the bonds of the oppressed, and restore to those we have wronged the rights, which God and nature gave them, and of which tyranny and cruelty have deprived them, every humane and benevolent mind will rejoice at the discovery, and avail itself of the advantages it offers. The primary, professed, and direct object of the above institution indeed is, to restore to the land of their fathers those in this country, who already are nominally possessed of liberty, but to whom, from their complexion and the unconquerable prejudices felt towards them by the whites, and a variety of other circumstances, their personal freedom is of comparatively little value; and who therefore have no prospect of rising to distinction or attaining to eminence, but are found among the most vicious and degraded of the American population. This institution has

had to encounter from the out-set directly opposite objections from different sections of our common country. When it has asked for aid from the North, the North has said, "This is a scheme of Southern policy, a wicked device of slave-holding men, who, desirous of riveting more firmly, and perpetuating more certainly, the fetters of slavery, are anxious to rid themselves of a population, whose presence, influence, and example, have a tendency to produce discontent among the slaves, and to furnish them with incitements to a spirit of rebellion and insurrection. We cannot encourage such a scheme." When the South has been importuned to lend a helping hand, the South has replied, "An enemy hath done this." "This is the contrivance of men hostile to the state of things among us, of men whose ultimate design is to effect universal emancipation, and this is nothing but an opening wedge." The very fact, that a scheme is met with objections so diametrically opposite, and so completely destructive of each other, amounts of itself in my mind almost to a demonstration of its excellence, and a proof of its integrity. Suppose we should concede to each party, that its surmises and suspicions are well-founded—what then? is there not motive sufficient, in the good that is to accrue to the class of people immediately concerned, to induce every philanthropist to afford it his hearty concurrence? Is not the investment of many thousands of people with the entire rights of freemen, with the privilege of self-government, with the advantages of a distinct national existence, an object of sufficient magnitude to ensure in its behalf the prayers of the pious and the contributions of the opulent? Is not the introduction of civilization and Christianity into the benighted continent of Africa, and the gradual abridgment and final arrest of the accursed slave-trade, (a result that must ensue from the establishment and increase of civilized and Christian colonies) a consideration of sufficient magnitude to warm every heart, and to set in efficient motion every hand?

Men must be expected to speculate on the tendency and result of such a scheme as the Colonization Society, according to their wishes, hopes, and fears; nor are the friends, patrons, and supporters of that institution at all answerable for the contingent consequences, to which it may conduct, while they themselves adhere to their original principles, and keep distinctly in view their primary and avowed design. As far as facts, that have occurred since the origin of the Society, go to develop its tendencies, it would appear that it is exerting a very favourable influence on the cause of emancipation and liberty. A number of benevolent individuals have rejoiced in the opportunity thus afforded them of gratifying the feelings of their hearts in a way consistent with their own safety and the safety of the community, and compatible with the laws of the State they respectively reside in. For no Legislature can reasonably or will probably prohibit emancipa-

tion, when it is followed by the immediate removal of the manumitted to a distant region, where no injurious influence can possibly be exerted on the enslaved population that remain behind.

It remains to be seen, whether the Legislatures of the respective States will do any thing by pecuniary appropriations or in any other way to favor and further the cause of emancipation; or whether they will still frown on every attempt, and scout at every proposal to this effect made by any non-slave-holding State, and intercept and interrupt every movement which Congress may make towards such an object. Should they pertinaciously and perseveringly adopt this latter course, still they cannot obstruct the current of benevolence, which flows in the hearts of individuals. These may, if they please, as some have done already, spontaneously emancipate their own slaves, either immediately if they can afford to do it, and if the character and habits of their slaves are such as that they may be safely trusted with their liberty; or they may put them upon a course of self-emancipation, which may render their freedom a double blessing, when they shall have purchased and merited it.

I have little or no hope, that the Colonization Society will of itself be competent to the mighty task of transporting to Africa the million and a half of slaves now in the United States, should they receive their freedom, together with the half million of colored persons already free. But it has already done much, and I am persuaded is destined to do considerably more, towards opening the eyes of the American community to the possibility and practicability of the transfer of a very great portion of the Africans in our country, to the land of their forefathers: it will do much towards turning the attention of individuals of State Legislatures and of Congress to the subject of transportation; of convincing them that if *all will unite* in this scheme,—if individuals will do their part, and the State Legislatures and the National Legislature will do theirs, much can be accomplished; the monstrous evil, under which the nation groans, can be either in due time entirely removed, or at all events, very materially qualified, very considerably alleviated. It now costs but \$30 each, to convey the blacks to Africa, and the directors of the institution assure us, that when farther progress is made in this good work, and the colony attains more growth and stability, so that a much larger number of emigrants may go over at one time, the price of a passage can be reduced to \$10, including too (if I mistake not) their provisions. Suppose therefore, that the nation could be brought to take hold of this subject with spirit and with vigour; that the slave-holding States, seeing their safety and their interests, together with those of unborn posterity, materially involved in this remarkable enterprize of the 19th century, should not only by their own legislatures make large appropriations, but also give their consent and even make their request, that Con-

gress should act—suppose Congress to take the matter up as a national business, popular in a high degree to all their constituents, what a mighty and resistless impulse could, under these circumstances, be given to this weighty concern. Many of the emigrants would be in a condition to meet the expense of their own transportation—many, as some already have been, could be aided by their masters—the treasuries of the respective States and of the nation could furnish the remainder of the requisite aid. The motion brought already before Congress by Mr. King, might be acted upon and carried into effect, and probably other ways and means, one after another, devised, to reach the emergency of the case, when the feelings and interests of the whole country shall have become thoroughly embarked in the cause. At all events, the experiment might be made, without any harm arising from it, to a considerable extent. If all that is desirable cannot be accomplished, we shall at least render some thousands of individuals respectable, prosperous, and happy in Africa, who will ever be degraded in America, and be the tenants of our jails for their crimes, or of our poor houses for their pauperism. A great, and signal, and permanent blessing will be conferred on long-injured and grievously-wronged Africa, by planting on her shores one colony after another of civilized, Christianized, and instructed freemen, who will gradually diffuse over the whole continent the blessings and the privileges, which fall to their own favoured lot.

And until wealthy and powerful public-bodies can be brought to take an active and efficient share in this mighty and glorious work, or whether they can be brought to do so or not, why may not all the various benevolent institutions in our land be doing something steadily and constantly, in aid of, and in co-operation with the American Colonization Society. If Africa has been wronged, not so much by the Southern States as by the United States—if the guilt of slavery is not a sectional but a national sin,—how is it, that the claims of that injured, bleeding continent have been so much overlooked in those grand enterprizes of Christian benevolence, which have been felt, more or less, in every other continent and by every other people. We have been evangelizing the *world of mariners*: and I acknowledge the justice of their claims. Yet while they have been heretofore only a neglected, the Africans have, besides this, been an injured and oppressed people, “meted out and trodden down.” We have been looking after the dispersed and persecuted seed of Abraham; but America has not dispersed nor persecuted them—she has been their friend, when they have been regarded and treated as “outcasts” by the rest of the world. We have had “bowels of compassion” for the poor savages in our Western wilderness; and deep and long have been our arrears to them—yet we have not *enslaved* them from one generation to another. On our fu-

ture conduct let this sentiment stand conspicuous, "Not that we love the Indians less, but that we love the Africans more." Will not the *American Board* come up to the help of Africa, and send her missionaries to that neglected, dreary, needy, yet now promising region? Will not Education Societies, particularly the American Education Society, do something to furnish her with well qualified pastors and teachers of her own complexion? Will not, in a word, every institution of Christian benevolence, which can with any consistency or propriety bring this matter within the scope of its operations, make it a subject of *immediate*, intense, and interesting inquiry, "What can be done for the benefit of Africa?"

Efforts of this nature will have the happiest effects in more than one or two,—in a considerable variety of ways. It will present the subject more perpetually, and keep it more prominently in public view. Institutions, having entirely distinct, yet by no means discordant or inconsistent ends, may find, in the Colonization Society, some ground upon which they all can act. All the distinguishing features of each may find something here on which to impress themselves. Where is there more missionary ground, than in Africa? Missionary stations might be formed, and missionary establishments created, either within or without the precincts of Liberia; and in either case might find the existence and flourishing state of this Christian colony, a powerful and efficient auxiliary and co-operator. Where is there more *promising* ground, than is presented by Africa for missionary labour? The minds of the natives are to be regarded rather as *un*-occupied, than as *pre*-occupied. One of the most serious obstacles to the spread of the gospel among the *Asiatic* Heathen, on whom much labour and money have been expended, is, that a pompous splendid, imposing and firmly riveted system of false religion, has to be dislodged from the mind, previous to the introduction into it of gospel truth; whereas the African is rather *without* any religion at all, or it is of so simple a character, as to present but a feeble obstruction to the spread of gospel truth over the hearts of individuals, and through the regions they occupy. But we have more than theory to encourage us here. If I mistake not, *facts* exist in sufficient abundance from experiments already made, to evince, that the African mind is susceptible of intellectual culture, the African heart accessible in no small degree to evangelical impression. Have not the London Missionary Society done much, even among the proverbially stupid Hottentots? Has not the English Colony at Sierra Leone, into the constitution and management of which the religion of Christ has been essentially incorporated, remarkably flourished? Let Lancastrian schools be introduced and multiplied in the region I speak of; let schools of a still higher order be formed in sufficient numbers to meet the

exigency of the case, and let the American Sunday School Union take its part also in the culture of the African mind and heart ; and I am greatly mistaken, if a few years will not present fruits of these labors, which will not shrink from a comparison with the success the gospel has had in any other quarter, not excepting the Society and Sandwich Isles. If these representations are true or probable, is not America bound to be doing, by her various Christian institutions, full as much for Africa as for any portion of the globe whatever ? And is not this obligation increased an hundred fold, when we consider, that "her debtors we are"—we have, by our ancestors and by ourselves, wronged, and plundered, and oppressed that unhappy people, and are as solemnly *bound in justice*, as we are required by mercy, to lift her from her degradation, and to give her both the instructions of literature, and the influences and consolations of Christianity. Let all our institutions then which can be brought to bear on this point at all, be up and doing without further delay.

I cannot consent to bring this communication to a close, without offering a few remarks on an article in the New York Daily Advertiser, and another in the Charleston Courier, which have fallen in my way, since I wrote the last number. Both the articles in question are editorial. In the former (viz. of Oct. 18) quotations are made from the Richmond Inquirer of October 11th from a piece under the signature of Caius Gracchus to "Bushrod Washington, Esq. President of the American Colonization Society," finding fault with that Society for having changed the character it assumed at its outset, for now avowing that its object is the abolition of slavery, whereas, when it commenced, it professed to aim at nothing but the removal of the free colored population. How far this charge is just, I am not able to say—nor whether, if it be well founded, the change may not be vindicated upon the principle, that public opinion is more and more pointing and looking to emancipation, and that the Society ought to conform to this current of public sentiment. My only view in noticing the article here is, to counteract the influence of the concluding remark of the Editor of the N. York Daily Advertiser. He says, "we recommend this matter to those friends and supporters of the Colonization Society in the Free States, who flatter themselves with the idea that the people of the Slave States would be glad to free their slaves, if they could only devise any practicable scheme for the purpose." I am sorry for this remark. Though it is not to be pretended, that the slave holders *in general* are *at present* favourable to emancipation, or that Legislatures at present would adopt measures for such a purpose, are there not many individuals, that will consent to emancipate—are there not some anxious for the progress of emancipation ? Have we not met with a sufficient number of encouraging, very encouraging

facts, to prove this ? and will not this spirit increase, the more the subject is discussed, and the facilities for emancipation appear ? The Editor of the *Conrier* in the other article alluded to, speaks with great confidence, that the slave-holding States will tenaciously adhere to the slave system. This remains to be proved—I trust Northern men, as well as Southern, will continue the experiment of the Colonization Society. HIERONYMUS.



SLAVERY. No. IX.

From the Recorder & Telegraph, Dec. 9, 1825.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—Inclination, as well as a conviction that I have sufficiently occupied your columns, and laid your own patience and that of your readers under rather unreasonable contribution, induces me to desire to close my part in this discussion, or at least to suspend it, until something extraordinary should require my re-appearance. My object in one or two important respects, has been already gained. The attention of the South and West, i. e. of slave-holders, as I observe from several communications of your correspondents, have been roused to the subject, and I hope will never sleep again, until something efficient is done or resolved on. Much as I might be disposed to complain of some of the harsh epithets, which have dropped from the pen of Vigornius, which have been made a subject of complaint by a writer in Louisiana under the signature of Philo, in your paper of October 21, I would rather that myself, and my slave-holding neighbours, should be ten times more provoked than we have been, than be suffered to remain in that criminal apathy and torpor, in which heretofore we have been too fond of indulging.

I am gratified to find the assertion in my first number, that Christians at the North and at the South think and feel alike on the subject of slavery, or that friendly mutual discussion would bring them to the same point, so soon verified. Besides myself, you have had four slave-holding correspondents, one in North-Carolina, one in Mississippi, a third in Louisiana, and a fourth in Virginia; and they all *substantially agree* with Vigornius and myself, as far as principles are concerned. The North-Carolinian regrets, that a Carolinian wrote his piece at all; and considers it as calculated to arrest the current of benevolence towards Africa, which has begun to flow from many bosoms—the Missis-

Mississippi correspondent finds fault with Vigornius for exciting the slaves, as he apprehended him, to insurrection and massacre ; but at the same time, falls completely into his track, *as to the propriety of emancipation*, proposes a plan himself, and wishes "Congress to be memorialized by each state and territory, in the Union, to take the subject of slavery, with the best means of emancipating all the slaves in the states and territories, into consideration ;" and says he will be "extremely happy if Vigornius or any other person will point out any more rational plan," than that proposed by himself "for effecting the most speedy emancipation of every slave in the United States"—the Louisianian, without any alarm or apprehension from the effects of Vigornius' pieces on the slaves, is highly offended with that writer on another ground—viz. for comparing the present holders of slaves to "the ancient pirate, the modern corsair, or the savages of the forest." But with all his vituperations, he begs that no one should "infer that *he is an advocate for slavery*, and says with considerable emphasis, "once more I repeat, let Vigornius point out the means of getting clear of the evil of slavery, with safety to those who are immediately concerned, and he will find many, even in the South and West, ready to second him"—the Virginian requests you to republish "a Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church adopted in 1818 on the subject of slavery and the Colonization Society." Including myself, here are then five slave-holding, cis-Potomac writers, bearing a decided protest against slavery, and calling for its remedy or removal.

The only question, then, that remains to be decided, is, how this great desideratum shall be accomplished. In my fourth number I suggested one plan, not indeed, originating with myself, but with some "traveller in the Valley of Mississippi"—the Mississippi correspondent proposes another, which I am bold to say, however extravagant the declaration may appear, is completely adequate to the removal of the evil. Let the states unitedly authorize and petition Congress to extricate us from this curse, and to unlade this burden, and it will be done with all imaginable ease. And if the Louisianian will attentively re-peruse the sixth number of Vigornius, I think he must abate somewhat of his warmth against that writer ; when he perceives him "pointing out some means of getting clear of the evil of slavery." Indulge me with making a few extracts from the number just alluded to. "Perhaps no single remedy will be sufficient. Let the slaves throughout the country be liberated as fast as possible. Let them have an opportunity to obtain a competent subsistence, and more, by the employments of freemen. If Congress shall make an appropriation of land, let it not be neglected. If Hayti throws open her doors, let them be entered. In a word, if any project be devised, which promises to hasten the extermination of slavery, and

improve the condition of the slave, let it be encouraged and urged onward. Every citizen in the country is bound to do something, and let every one do it in the way which his wisdom or inclination approves. But I may be allowed to suggest to the reader of these articles, whether the plan of the American Colonization Society is not the most flattering and magnificent, which has ever been proposed to our benevolence, patriotism, and piety. Why cannot the whole nation patronize the object as a common interest? Let all sectional jealousies be buried, and with more sincerity and permanency than Themistocles and Aristides buried their animosities, when the interests of their common country were endangered," &c.

Ought not Southern men to rejoice in hearing such generous sentiments from Northern lips? And Vigornius is not alone in these sentiments. The guilt of New England in reference to African slavery, seems to be fully appreciated by almost every recent writer on that subject, and the duty, of New England to purify herself from this guilt, powerfully urged. Let me exhibit a few proofs of this assertion out of many. "Let us not imagine for a moment, that we, in this Northern clime, are exempt from that enormous guilt, connected with slavery, and the slave-trade, which we are so ready to appropriate to our brethren in distant States. We have no right thus to wash our hands. From NEW-ENGLAND have gone the ships and sailors, that have been polluted with this inhuman traffic. In NEW-ENGLAND are the forges, which have framed the fetters and manacles for the limbs of unoffending Africans. The iron of NEW-ENGLAND has pierced their anguished souls. In NEW-ENGLAND are found the overgrown fortunes, the proud palaces, which have been reared up from the blood and sufferings of these unhappy men. The guilt both of the slave-trade and slavery is strictly national. National then let the expiation be."*—"The wisdom and the united energies of the whole nation must be put under requisition, if any thing is to be effected. Slavery to an alarming extent exists among us as a nation; the guilt is a national one—the danger is national—and the effort for its complete removal must be national, or it will be in vain."†—"There is perhaps no subject, which excites so much of what is called *sectional* feeling,—so much of jealousy at the South, so much of exultation at the North, and so much of indignant invective in all parts of the Union, as the subject before us in any of its relations. But the feeling at the North and at the South is equally unreasonable, not to say equally criminal. The difference in regard to slavery and a negro population, between New England and Georgia, we owe not to ourselves or to our fathers, but to the God,

* Rev. Dr. Dana's Sermon at Londonderry, N. H.

† Rev. W. T. Hamilton's Discourse on 4th July, at Newark, N. J.

who has placed our habitation where the climate forbade the introduction of Africans, and where the hard soil could be cultivated only by the hands of freemen. Had the rough hills, and the cold winds, and the long winters of New-England, been exchanged for the rich plains, and the burning sun, and the enervating breezes of Carolinian, all the sacred principles of Puritanism would not have prevented the introduction of slavery at a time when hardly a man could be found in either hemisphere to raise his voice against the enormity, and when England was determined to infect all her colonies with debilitating and deadly poison. What occasion then can we have to exult over our fellow-citizens? We are happy to believe that notwithstanding all the vapouring of newspaper declaimers, *the great majority of the Northern people* regard the matter with far more enlarged, liberal, national feelings, than is commonly imagined by their Southern brethren.”*—Much more to the same effect might be quoted, honorable to the character and feelings of our Northern brethren, and which ought to remove the prejudices, and conciliate the good will of the inhabitants of the South.

The rapid multiplication of Colonization Societies within a few months past in the Northern States, affords substantial evidence of the sincerity of these professions; they prove that our brethren in that region are willing to bear their part in the removal of the burden and guilt of slavery from our land; while on the other hand, the numerous and continually multiplying instances of voluntary emancipation of their slaves by slave-holders, is an evidence, that when the door is fairly and fully opened for the safe manumission of the children of bondage, there is no lack of disposition, at least among Christians and good men at the South, to restore to the blacks the rights which Scripture and the God of nature gave them. What can hinder Congress from taking into immediate consideration this great subject, and what might not be expected from the intellectual energy and pecuniary competency of the nation, expressing its will and determination, through this organ. In the mean time, whether the subject is taken up or not immediately by the Legislature of the nation, let individuals, and associations do all they can to forward this great and glorious work. There is no time to be lost. The evils of slavery are growing upon us in a most alarming degree; and the voice of warning is heard from our wisest and ablest statesmen, as much as from our best Christians, urging us to “do with our might whatsoever our hands find to do” in this interesting concern.

The language, the recent language of the aged Jefferson, the

* Review of Reports of the American Colonization Society in Christian Spectator, Vol. 5, page 544.

idol of the South, is explicit on this subject. Will those who admire and almost adore him in other respects, not value his sentiments nor heed his admonition on this topic? And what says Mr. Jefferson? Quite in the early part of his life, speaking of the probability that the blacks may assert their freedom, he adds, "The Almighty has no attribute, which can take side with us in such a contest!" Much more recently we hear him saying, "The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of this people, and it is a mortal reproach to us, that they should have pleaded it so long in vain. The hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time; *it will come*, whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo."—Are these opinions and remonstrances of the political patriarch of the South to go for nothing? Will not *Virginia* lead the way in the work of emancipation for her slave-holding sisters, who I am persuaded, would in this case soon follow? *Virginia*, the birthplace and the constant residence of the distinguished individual whose sentiments we have just quoted—*Virginia*, where "slavery has reduced the price of land to about one fourth of what it is in Pennsylvania,—where, if the entire slave population were removed from the soil, and in the room of it an industrious white population introduced, so that the land might rise to its proper value, they would be richer without their slaves than with them"—shall not *Virginia* be the first and most forward to act on this great occasion, as she has already lost, under the blasting and withering influence of the slave-holding system, notwithstanding the extent and fertility of her territory, her comparative pre-eminence among the sisterhood of the American States, and is continuing to descend daily? Reasons, physical, political, and moral, all unite in demanding the extirpation of slavery from the free and happy soil of America as soon and as fast as it can be done. Individuals have begun well, and in a variety of instances have set a noble and laudable example. Let the Legislatures of the respective states and of the nation act with promptitude and with vigor, and improve every new opening which the providence of God may afford, and I will venture to predict, that in fifty years or perhaps less time, there will hardly be a case of involuntary slavery in our land.

Let me ask Christians, and Christian ministers, and Christian congregations, especially those of the Presbyterian denomination, whether they have observed and acted on the recommendations of the General Assembly in the report of the year 1818, as published in the Recorder of Oct. 28th at the request of your *Virginia* correspondent. That judicious and excellent document I do not know whether I have met with before; but its republication just at this time, is highly seasonable.

Slavery, if immediate, and strong, and steady measures are

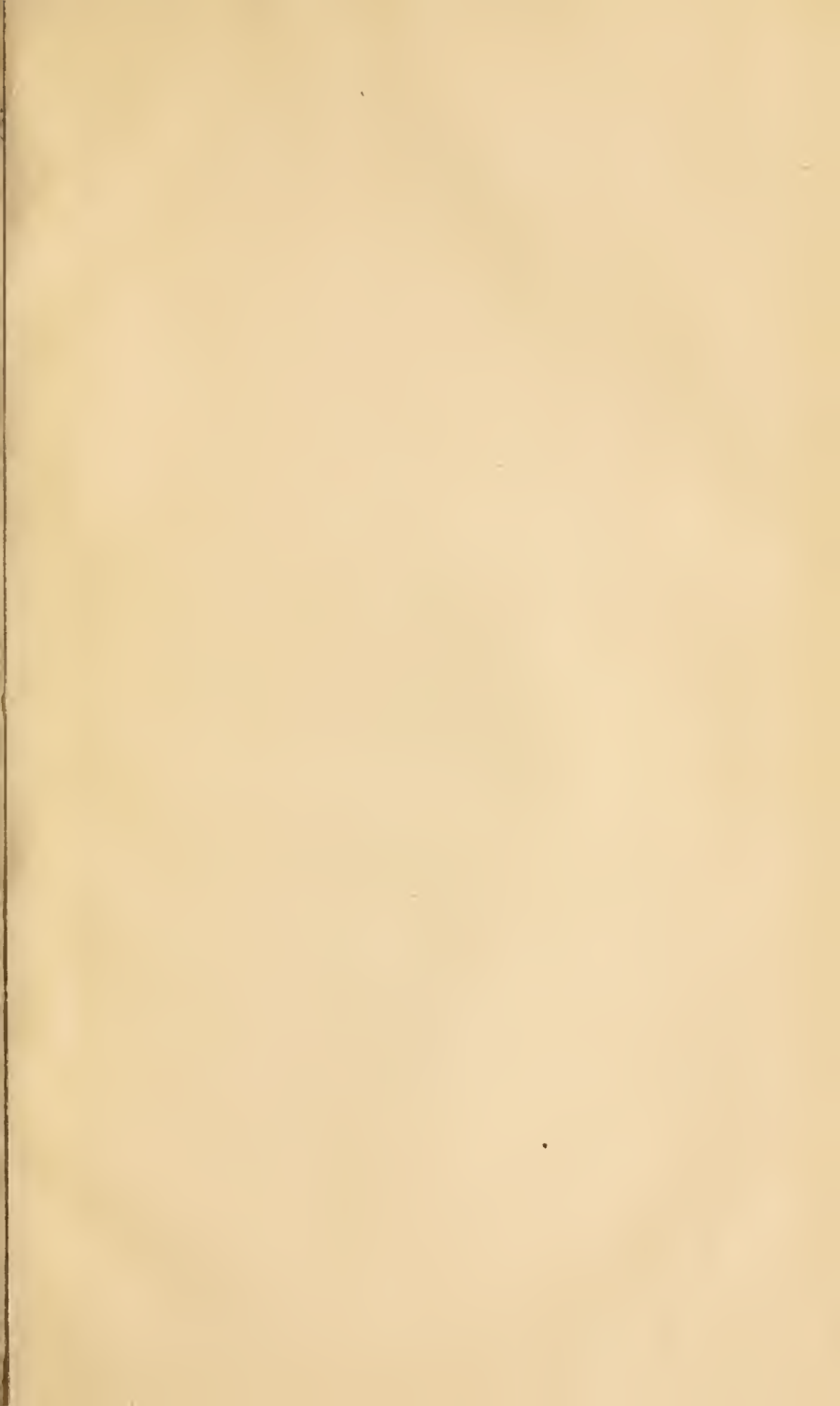
not taken for its removal, threatens more, far more than any thing else, to be the ruin of our country. Aside from the dangers to be apprehended from the slaves themselves in their rapidly increasing population, and from the incurableness of the evil if it is suffered to grow much longer, or extend much farther among us, perhaps a still greater evil to be dreaded is disunion among ourselves. If Northern men and the Northern States, after all that has been said and written respecting their willingness to bear their proportionate share of expense, and inconvenience, and sacrifice, in throwing off this common burden, and their willingness that this should be regarded and treated as a great national concern, find all their offers treated with contempt, and all their efforts frustrated by the pertinacious adherence of the slave-holding States to a system contrary to Scripture, to conscience, to our declaration of Independence, to the natural rights of men, have we not too much reason to fear, in due time the awful evil of a separation of the States! And, after all the vapouring and hectoring of Governor Troup and his associates, *reflecting* men at the South must perceive, that the condition of their region, would, under such circumstances, be most undesirable. But this is not all. An evil which may be considered as even worse than the one just mentioned, is before us. We at the South are a *divided people among ourselves*. As I have said before, whatever difference there may be between Northern and Southern *politicians* on this subject, between Northern and Southern *Christians* there is none. This has been proved even from those very writers in your paper, who came out professedly against Vigornius, but who, before they finished, gave evidence that, *substantially*, they were decidedly on his side. Blessed be God, genuine, vital Christianity is the same all over the world. Christians at the South have been long *oppressed* on this subject. They believe that the gospel is as much intended for the slaves on our Southern plantations, as for any people under the wide canopy of Heaven. Yet in their endeavours to give the blacks that precious gospel, and particularly in teaching the blacks to read, that they too may "*search those Scriptures which testify of Christ*," they have been met, and thwarted, and counteracted by Legislative powers and penalties, by popular resentment, in some few instances (and we hope they are but few) by the acts of a lawless mob. These things ought not so to be, and these things cannot long so continue. Ministers and Christians must either leave the country, or remaining in it, if they mean to be faithful, must expect to encounter a species of Martyrdom. Christian influence is increasing at the South—religion is advancing—the followers of Christ are becoming more numerous and more engaged—they feel that they have a great and a very long-neglected work to do for their degraded slaves. But if they are to be hampered, and fettered, and

brow beaten, and in various ways opposed in their plans and efforts to Christianize the slaves, under the pretext that they are endangering the safety of the community, I know not what the consequences will be, and I shudder to look into them. May God preserve the liberty, the Union, the peace, and the religion of these United States, and teach the inhabitants to "*do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God.*" May he dispose them to "break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free," that we may trust in his sure defence, and be covered with his protection as with a shield.

Having taken a wider range in this discussion than I intended, and perhaps than I ought to have been indulged in, I retire, that better heads and hearts, and abler pens, may take it up. I trust it will be continued as long as slavery *in its present form* exists.

HIERONYMUS.

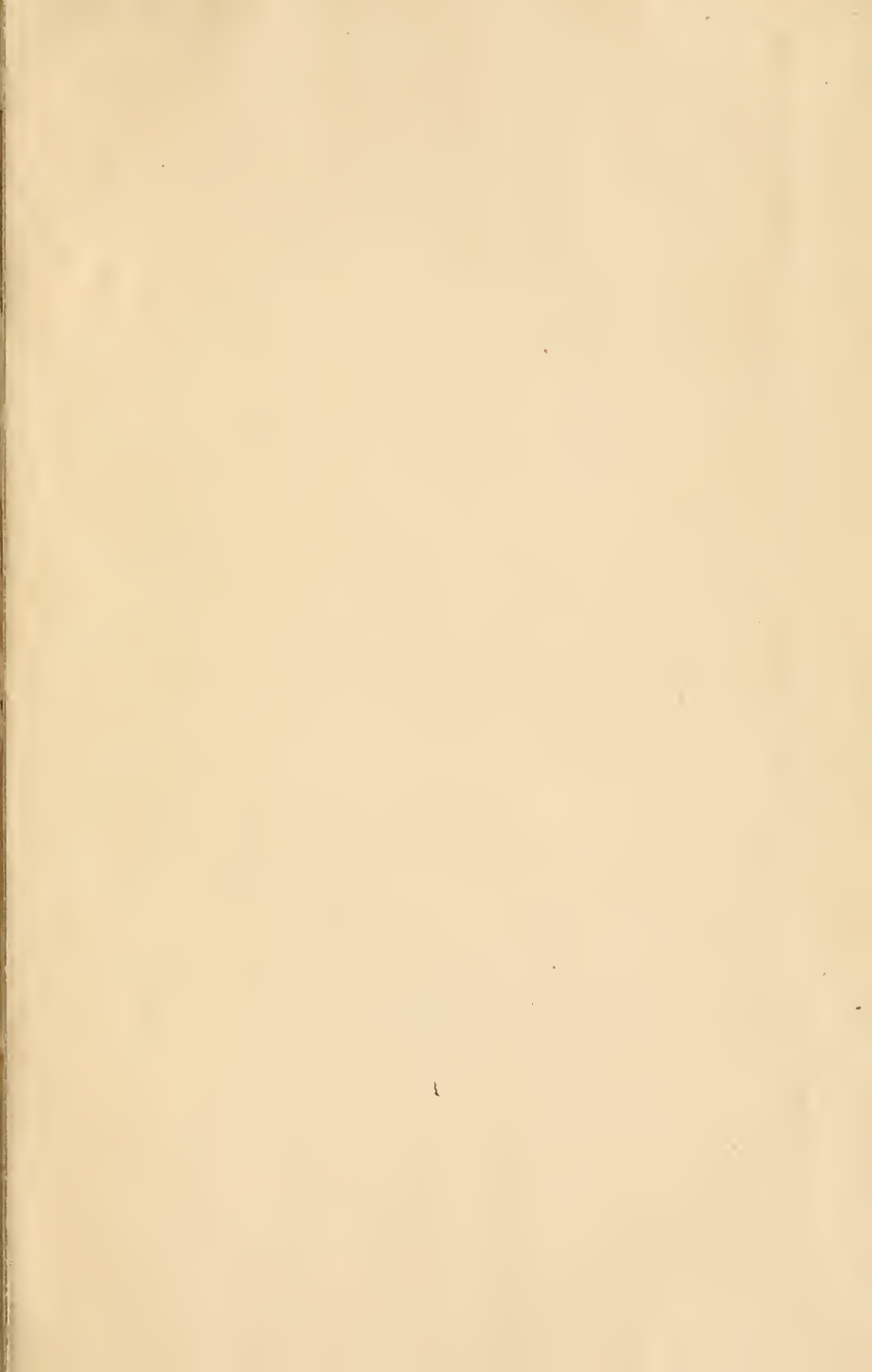








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